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THOMAS HUTCHINS

A TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF VIRGINIA, PENNSYLVANIA, MARYLAND, AND NORTH CAROLINA

Reprinted from the original edition of 1778

EDITED BY

FREDERICK CHARLES HICKS

CLEVELAND
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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH OF THOMAS HUTCHINS

THE first and only civil "geographer of the United States," Thomas Hutchins, was a man whose life and works are full of interest. Yet no extended account of him has ever been published, and only scant recognition has been given to his work.

There is evidence of the high esteem in which he was held by his contemporaries, both as an individual and in his public capacities. Hazard, writing to Belknap on July 13, 1789, says that he was "a man of good character, of polite manners, of great integrity, who made a regular profession of religion. He joined Dr. Rodger's church some time ago."* Belknap volunteered† to write an account of Hutchins's life to be placed in his *American Biography*, but unfortunately did not fulfill his promise. Had he done so, the labor of this fragmentary account would have been materially lessened. Belknap, however, could not have foreseen the extraordinary results that were to come from Hutchins's work while geographer of the United States. The importance of this work has become apparent only through the enormous growth of the public land system of the United

*Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, ser. 5, vol. iii., p. 139.
†*Ibid.*, p. 136, 143.

States, now applied to an area many times larger than the whole federal territory in 1789, and under the administration of a special office of the Department of the Interior. The system of land platting now used by the Commissioner of the General Land Office is supposed to have been the invention of Thomas Hutchins. A little more than three years before his death, his survey of public lands in Ohio was commenced. At the time of his death, he had surveyed four of the "seven ranges," and had put in practice the rectangular system of dividing lands in squares of one mile with meridian lines, marking on the corner-posts the number of the section, town, and range. The only part of this system that has been changed in the surveys of today is the method of numbering the sections.

So simple and effective has this system proved that no one other circumstance has so facilitated the settlement of the West. It has enabled large tracts to be platted with accuracy and despatch, opened them to systematic settlement on a sound basis, and reduced to a minimum vexatious suits over boundary lines. While the question of the authorship of this system may never be settled absolutely, it is certain that to no one belongs a greater meed of praise than to the man who first applied the system in the "seven ranges" from which has spread out the great network of western surveys.

Were this Hutchins's only achievement it would justify an examination into the events of his life.

But his ceaseless activity and great ability repay this attention regardless of his position as official geographer. By his travels in the western country he contributed to one of the greatest influences in American history, namely, the influence of *movement*. His pioneer work, and his surveys of roads and of land tracts, when recorded in his books and maps, showed, first, what there was to be attained, and, second, how it might be reached. Almost from boyhood his life took on the pioneer character, and his work was largely done in an official capacity.

Thomas Hutchins was born in Monmouth County, New Jersey, in 1730. "His parents dying while he was young, an uncommon diffidence and modesty would not permit him to apply for protection or employment from his relatives, who were very respectable, at New York, and would have been very ready to assist him; but rather chose to seek some business; and accordingly before he was sixteen, went to the Western Country, where he was soon appointed an ensign, and paymaster-general to the forces there."* Hutchins says in his memorial to Franklin† in 1780 that he has served "as a British officer more than twenty-two years." This statement is supported by the official records. He did not, however, commence his military experience as an ensign. When troubles preliminary to the French and Indian War began to be

*New York Daily Gazette, May 20, 1789.

†See *post*, p. 24.

fomented, the colonies were called upon to raise, at their own expense, troops for the protection of their western frontier. In 1755, England had in America only one thousand regular soldiers. The colony of Pennsylvania raised a regiment in which Hutchins received a commission as lieutenant on December 18, 1757.* In less than a year, June 7, 1758, he was promoted to the position of quartermaster in Col. Hugh Mercer's battalion.† It was just at this juncture that General Forbes was assembling his army at Carlisle. Undismayed by General Grant's defeat of September 14, General Forbes pressed forward toward Fort Duquesne, within one day's march of which he arrived on November 24, 1758. The French, fearing his approach, burned and abandoned the fort. On the next day, Forbes occupied the deserted site, which he garrisoned with the provincials under Colonel Mercer, while he marched on to Lancaster, Reading, and Philadelphia. Hutchins was in this garrison at Fort Duquesne, thenceforth to be called Fort Pitt, serving as lieutenant and quartermaster. At the death of General Forbes in 1759, General Stanwick succeeded him. In the list of officers stationed at Fort Pitt on July 9, 1759, we find the name "Lieutenant Hutchins;"‡ so that he was present during the building of the formidable fort undertaken in August by General Stanwick. That

*_Pennsylvania Archives_, ser. 1, vol. iii , p. 337; ser. 2, vol. ii., pp. 545, 558.

†_Ibid._, ser. 2, vol. ii., p. 563.

‡_The Olden Time_, edited by Neville B. Craig, vol. i., p. 195.

he was still in Fort Pitt on August 6, 1759, is shown by the fact that on that date he addressed a letter to "Capt^{n}. James Young, Paymaster to the Pennsylvania Troops," in which he quotes information concerning Indian affairs which had been received by Colonel Mercer on August 4 and 5. The letter is endorsed by "Lieut. Hutchins."

Hutchins's name does not appear in the "List of the officers of the Pennsylvania regiment, for the year 1760."* Having acquired a taste for military service, he evidently determined to adopt it as a profession. Accordingly we find in "A list of officers who served in the Pennsylvania reg't of 3 batt'ns, A. D. 1758 & '59, with their ranks they were promoted to after that time," that Hutchins has entered the "Regular Service."† The name "Thomas Hutchinson" appears in the official British army-lists for the years 1763 and 1764, among the ensigns in the 60th or Royal American regiment of foot under the command of Sir Jeffery Amherst. The date of Hutchinson's first connection with the army, and of his commission as ensign is given as "2 Mar. 1762." In the lists for 1765, 1766, 1767, and 1768 is given the name "Thomas Hutchins" in the same relative position in the list of ensigns, and with the same date of commission. "Hutchinson" is therefore probably a misprint for "Hutchins," so that it seems likely that Hutchins's connection with the regular British

**Pennsylvania Archives*, ser. 2, vol. ii., p. 563.

†*Ibid.*, p. 609.

army as an officer did not commence until 1762.* The acceptance of a rank subordinate to that which he had previously held is explained by the fact that the commissions of provincial officers were rated lower than those of the lowest rank of regular British officers.

There is no record of how Hutchins acquired his knowledge of engineering, except in the experiences which have just been narrated. Nor is it possible to state upon what missions he was employed prior to the year 1760.

The earliest record of his travels in the western country is contained in "A journal of a march from Fort Pitt to Venango—and from thence to Presqu'Isle," which is presumed to have been kept by Hutchins himself. The march, probably in the detachment of troops led by Colonel Bouquet, was made from July 7 to July 17, 1760. This journal is the earliest account we have of the country traversed after it came into English hands. It is the only one of the Hutchins papers that has been printed.†

*Winthrop Sargent in his *The History of an Expedition against Fort Du Quesne in 1755* (Pennsylvania Historical Society, vol. v., p. 123, *note*), says, "It is believed that the famous geographer Thomas Hutchins, the historian of Bouquet's expedition, on this occasion received his first commission as ensign in the King's South Carolina Independent Company." The "occasion" referred to by Mr. Sargent is one recorded in *Historical Records of the Life Guards* (London, 1835), where at page 154, *note*, it appears that "Thomas Hitchins," formerly in the Life Guards, was, on December 25, 1746, given a commission as "Ensign in an Independent Company, South Carolina." There is no evidence, except the similarity of names, in support of Mr. Sargent's conjecture.

†*Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, vol. ii., pp. 149-153.

In the year 1763, the Indians under Pontiac formed a general plan to capture simultaneously all the forts held by the English. Forts Le Boeuf, Venango, Presqu'Isle, La Bay, St. Joseph's, Miamis, Ouiatenon, Sandusky, and Michillimackinac immediately fell. Forts Pitt and Detroit were surrounded and placed in a very critical situation. At Fort Pitt there were only three hundred and thirty soldiers, tradesmen, and woodsmen, under the command of Captain Ecuyer. With this garrison, he held out gallantly until the arrival of reinforcements. In this resistance, Hutchins, who had been in the garrison almost continuously since 1759, took an important part. On March 19, 1763, he left the fort on a mission that had been ordered by Colonel Bouquet.* He returned on May 29, bringing with him six much needed recruits. From June 4 to October 17, there is mention of his having been on guard, serving on courts martial, and performing important services at the fort. Pent up in the enclosure, and constantly employed in repairing the ravages of a destructive flood, the garrison was very much overworked. Of Hutchins in this connection, Captain Ecuyer writes to Colonel Bouquet on June 16, 1763, "No one has offered to help me but Mr. Trent, to whom I am much obliged, as well as to Mr. Hutchins, who has taken no rest. He oversaw the works and did

*For this and following references, see Darlington (Mary Carson), *Fort Pitt and Letters from the Frontier* (Pittsburg, 1892). The data are taken from the manuscript *Bouquet Papers* in the British Museum.

his duty, at the same time, that is praiseworthy and he merits recompense."

For the relief of the beleaguered garrison, Colonel Bouquet and his army were detached from Carlisle, and after the decisive battle at Bushy Run, August 5 and 6, arrived at Fort Pitt on August 9. Hutchins was not in this engagement, since, on August 4, he sat as a member of a court martial at Fort Pitt. His survey of the battle-ground was made at a later date, and the situation of the troops indicated from information furnished him. On October 17, 1763, Colonel Bouquet despatched from Fort Pitt to Fort Ligonier a detachment under Captain Stewart. In the orders for this march appears, "Ensign Hutchins is to do adjutant's duty, and all orders received from him are to be obeyed." Of Hutchins's services on this expedition, Captain Ecuyer writes, "I must not neglect to recommend to you Mr. Hutchins as a worthy officer. He has given himself all imaginable trouble and has been of great use to Captain Stewart and the detachment. His diligence and good will merits more than I can tell you."

At Fort Pitt, Hutchins laid out the plans for new fortifications and later executed them under the direction of Colonel Bouquet. The redoubt built at this time is still standing, the only relic of British activity in Pittsburg. Hutchins's plan of Fort Pitt and the surrounding country is preserved in the library of the Pennsylvania Historical Society. In 1764, Colonel Bouquet set out with his

army for the total reduction of the western Indians. Hutchins accompanied him on this expedition as assistant engineer. They left Fort Pitt on October 3, arriving at the forks of the Muskingum on November 18. Here conferences were held with the Indians, resulting satisfactorily for the British contention. The expedition then retraced its steps to Fort Pitt, where it arrived on November 28.

An account of this expedition, with an introductory account of the campaign of 1763, was published anonymously in Philadelphia in 1765, and Hutchins's maps which he had drawn upon the ground, marking the route and camping-places, formed part of the work.* Rich, Allibone, and others state that Hutchins was the author of the text of this volume; but a manuscript letter in the Force collection in the Library of Congress seems to prove that Dr. William Smith prepared it from notes furnished him by General Bouquet. Nevertheless, there is contemporary evidence that Hutchins, during his lifetime, was known as the author of this work; for in his obituary notice published in the *New York Daily Gazette*, Wednesday, May 20, 1789, is mentioned his connection with "General Boucquett, an account of whose transactions and campaigns was drawn up and published by him in this city, about the year 1758 [*sic*]." A discussion of the authorship of this work is contained in an article by Col. Charles Whittlesey on the "Origin of the American system of land sur-

*For editions of this work, see "List of Works," *post*.

veys. Justice to the memory of Thomas Hutchins."* He takes the ground that Smith, not being on the expedition, was merely the editor; that Bouquet could not have written the account since in many parts it would have been self-laudatory; and that Hutchins, having made the maps, was the officer who naturally would write the notes accompanying them. He therefore claims that the credit for the information contained in the work is due to Hutchins.

A letter in the *Bouquet Papers*, British Museum, copied in the *Canadian Archives*, Series A, vol. xxi., p. 296, throws some light on Hutchins's connection with this book. From Fort Loudoun, on April 16, 1765, he writes to Colonel Bouquet that he set out from Fort Pitt on March 29, arriving at Fort Loudoun on April 13; that he has "measured the Road very exact following its windings;" and that he is busily engaged in drawing plans of the road and of the "Field of Battle" (Bushy Run), which he will forward in a few days. "Your very friendly & generous Proposal," he says, "is too much and you'll please allow me to assure you that if any profits arises from the sale of the Plan, it must go to defray the expense that may attend it. A Work set on foot purposely for my credit and advantage leaves me no room to Hesitate." It thus appears that the plans illustrating the campaign of 1763, were made by Hutchins, at

*Association of the Engineering Societies, *Journal*, vol. iii., pp. 275-280.

Bouquet's orders, in April, 1765, while on a special expedition from Fort Pitt for that purpose.

In the year 1766, Hutchins was sent in company with Capt. Henry Gordon, chief engineer in the Western Department of North America, and George Croghan, Deputy Indian agent, on an expedition down the Ohio River. This trip was an official investigation of the territory acquired by the treaty of Paris, 1763, by which Great Britain gained all the territory of France east of the Mississippi River, except the tract in which New Orleans lies.

"I proceeded to Philadelphia with Ensign Hutchins, assistant engineer," on the 13th of May, 1766, says Captain Gordon. They left Philadelphia on the 23rd, reaching Pittsburg on June 14, where they were joined by Mr. Croghan. After engaging the necessary boats and battoemen they embarked on June 18, on the Ohio River. At the present site of Louisville, Kentucky, Hutchins drew "on the spot," July 19–23, a plan of the rapids at that point.* At the mouth of the Ohio, August 7, they were joined by a detachment of troops from Fort Chartres, with whom they ascended the Mississippi River to that fort near the St. Louis of today. They remained in this neighborhood, repairing the fort and making reconnaissances, from August 20 until September 18, when they commenced the trip down the Mississippi. They had reached

Topographical Description of Virginia, p. [10], *note*.

the Ibberville River on October 10,* and New Orleans on October 14. Thence they proceeded through Lake Pontchartrain to the sea, and coastwise to Pensacola, Florida. Here they embarked on November 12 for Havana, Cuba, arriving on the 17th, to join the troops stationed there. Gordon kept a journal of this trip, from which we learn of Hutchins's movements.† Hutchins left no journal but his *Topographical Description of Virginia*, and his *Louisiana and West Florida* consist to some extent of observations made on this expedition.

The next record of Hutchins finds him "At a conference held at Fort Pitt, on Tuesday the twenty-sixth day of April, 1768, with the chiefs and principal warriors of the Six Nations, Delawares, Shawanese, Munsies and Mohicons, residing on the waters of the Ohio."‡ "Ensign Hutchins" is mentioned among the officers present.

From November, 1768, to October, 1770, Hutchins's base of operations was Fort Chartres in the Illinois country. On November 15, 1768, he wrote General Haldimand, announcing his arrival at Fort Chartres, and enclosing a *Journal from Fort Pitt to the Mouth of the Ohio. In the year 1768.*‡‡

*Hutchins, *Historical Narrative and Topographical Description of Louisiana*, p. 61.

†For Gordon's *Journal*, see "List of Works," *post*, and Pownal (Thomas), *A Topographical Description of North America*, Appendix iv., pp. 2-5. Gordon's MS. map of the Ohio River is in the Map Division, Library of Congress. It is reproduced in Hulbert (A. B.), *Historic Highways of America*, vol. ix., between pp. 48-49.

‡Rupp (I. D.), *Early History of Western Pennsylvania*, Appendix xix., p. 181; also *The Olden Time*, vol. i., p. 344.

‡‡Indiana Historical Society, *Publications*, vol. ii., pp. 417-421.

In this year also he drew *A sketch of the Ouabache &c. from Post Vincent to the Ohio*, which is preserved in the British Museum.* From September, 1769, to September, 1770, he compiled his *Remarks on the Country of the Illinois*. September 24, to October 20, 1770, he sat as a member of a court of inquiry at Fort Chartres to settle certain matters of "personal abuse," complained of by one Richard Bacon against George Morgan.† Patrick Kennedy, a witness before this court, was the writer of the *Journal up the Illinois River*, in 1773, reprinted in this volume.

The army-list for 1772 shows that Hutchins was made a lieutenant in his regiment on August 7, 1771. November 28 of the same year he was at Philadelphia, from which place he addressed a letter to "Robert Lettue Hooper Esq." concerning the publication of his map of the western country which was already in preparation. His scientific ability had undoubtedly by this time brought him to the favorable notice of the learned men of his day. The American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia was already the rendezvous of many such men. To this society was presented at a meeting on December 20, 1771, Hutchins's *An Account of the Country of the Illinois* which he had communicated in a letter to Mr. Ewing.‡

Early in 1772, at General Haldimand's request,

*Reproduced in Hulbert (A. B.), *Historic Highways of America*, vol. viii., p. 35.

†Chicago Historical Society, *Collections*, vol. iv., pp. 420-485.

‡*Early Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society.*

Hutchins was transferred to the southern department. Until the year 1777, he was prominently identified with all the important engineering works in West Florida.* On March 16, 1772, he was at Pensacola, where he was engaged in the construction of military barracks.† During this year, also, he visited the Chandeleur Islands on the coast of Louisiana.‡ His absence from Philadelphia did not prevent the election to membership in the American Philosophical Society of "Lieut. Thomas Hutchins of the 60th. Regiment." This event took place on April 17, 1772;‡‡ and on July 18, 1773, he donated to the society *A draught of Chester & Middle rivers in W. Florida.*‡‡‡

Hutchins's extensive travels in the South, recorded in his published work, in his *Remarks on the River Amit*, and *Remarks relating to the Rivers Mississippi, Ibberville, Amit & Lakes Maurepas & Pontchatrain*, had evidently impressed him with the wisdom of acquiring lands in that region. Accordingly we find him taking steps to this end by sending a party to survey a tract of land for him. This expedition is recorded in a *Journal of a Surveying Party in Employment of Capt: Johnson, Thos: Hutchins, Alex. Macullough and Hall*

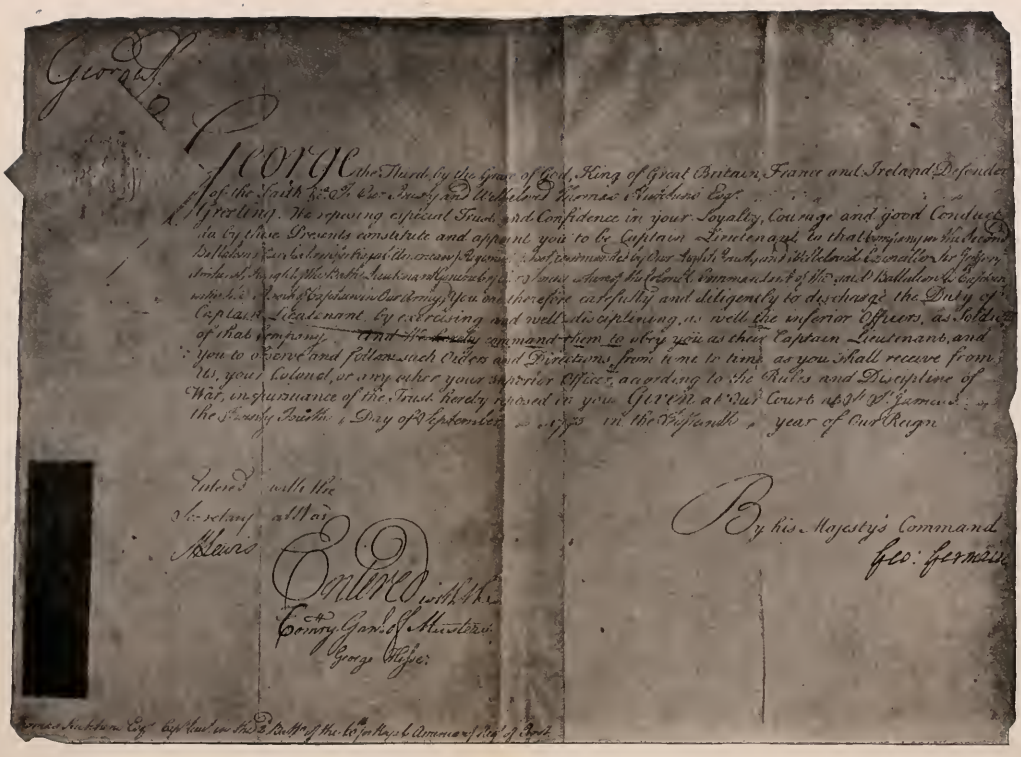
*See Brymner's *Report on Canadian Archives*,—copies of Bouquet and Haldimand Papers.

†Illinois State Historical Library, *Collections*, vol. i., p. 291: Haldimand to Gage.

‡Hutchins, *Historical Narrative and Topographical Description of Louisiana*, p. 59.

‡‡*Early Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society.*

‡‡‡*Ibid.*



George the Third by the Grace of God, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland Defender of the Faith &c. To Our Trusty and Wellbeloved Thomas Hutchins Esqr. Greeting. We reposing especial Trust and Confidence in your Loyalty, Courage and good Conduct do by these Presents constitute and appoint you to be Captain Lieutenant in that Company in the Second Battalion of Our Royal Regiment of Foot commanded by Our Trusty and Wellbeloved Councellor Sir Jeffery Amherst Knight of the Most Honourable Order of the Bath Colonel of the said Regiment and Captain Commander of the said Battalion whereof Lord Colville is Captain in Our Army. You are therefore carefully and diligently to discharge the Duty of Captain Lieutenant by exercising and well disciplining as well the inferior Officers as Soldiers of that Company And We hereby command them to obey you as their Captain Lieutenant, and you to observe and follow such Orders and Directions from time to time as you shall receive from Us, your Colonel or any other your superior Officer according to the Rules and Discipline of War, in pursuance of the Trust hereby reposed in you. Given at Our Court at St. James's the Twenty Fourth Day of September 1759 in the Thirty Ninth Year of Our Reign

By his Majesty's Command

Geo: Germain

Entered with the Secretary at War

Entered with the Comptroller of the Army Accts.

George Hayes

Thomas Hutchins Esqr. Captain in the 2d Battn. of the 60th Regt. Commission of Capt. Lieut.

Hutchins's Commission as Captain-Lieutenant

[From the Original in the Library of the Pennsylvania Historical Society.]

Bay, Esq. 26th. July to 17th. Sept. 1774. From this journal we learn that Hutchins came upon the surveying party on September 7, 1774, having in his charge a party of prisoners on his way from "Manshac," and took passage upon a schooner belonging to the expedition. Tracts were surveyed upon the rivers Amite and Comite, Hutchins's tract on the Comite including two thousand acres.*

The army-list for 1776 gives Hutchins as "Captaint-lieutenant and Capt.," and the date of his commission, September 21, 1775. Later editions of the list say September 24. Hutchins was then in the second battalion of the 60th or Royal American regiment. His parchment commission bearing the royal seal and addressed "To Our Trusty and Wel-beloved Thomas Hutchins Esqr.," with the date September 24, 1775, is preserved in the library of the Pennsylvania Historical Society.

In 1775, he was at Pensacola, Florida. In his *Louisiana and West-Florida*† he says, "The town of Pensacola is of an oblong form, and lies almost parallel to the beach. . . . The present fort was built by the writer of this narrative in 1775." His frankness in speaking of his own work is illustrated as he continues. The fort "can be of no great service towards the defence of the place, in case an attack be made on it, either by the natives or a civilized enemy."

On November 13, 1776, Hutchins was promoted

*Concerning Hutchins's land, see *American State Papers. Public lands*, vol. i., pp. 602, 882, 885.

†Page 77.

to a captaincy.* The army-list for 1777 shows him to have been transferred from the second to the fourth battalion of the 60th regiment, in which battalion he remained until his connection with the army was severed. His name appears for the last time in the army-list for 1782, when he was third in rank of the captains of his battalion. His connection with the army, however, had ceased on February 11, 1780, when he resigned;† and his name must have remained in the list due to the confusion of the Revolution.

Hutchins was in London on May 8, 1777, where, as acting engineer, he submitted "An Estimate of the Expence it will take to finish compleatly, as well the Works already begun, as those originally intended to be made at Pensacola, by Order of the Commander in Chief of North America." In the next year, November 1, 1778, he published in London his *A new Map of the Western parts of Virginia, Pennsylvania, Maryland and North Carolina*, with the accompanying *Topographical Description*.‡ In this work‡‡ he states that he has personally surveyed the whole territory west of the Alleghany Mountains, and upon the rivers Ohio and Mississippi, "during all the campaigns of the last war, in several of which I acted as an engineer, and since in many reconnoitring tours, which I

*Hinsdale in his *The Old North-West*, p. 262, erroneously states that Hutchins was a Captain when he was with Bouquet in 1764.

†See *post*, p. 24.

‡For editions of this work, see "List of Works," *post*.

‡‡Page i.

made through various parts of the country, between the years 1764 and 1775."

The outbreak of the war between Great Britain and the United Colonies while he was in London brought upon Hutchins the crisis of his life. He had risen to a post of honor in the British army solely through merit. He had hitherto exerted himself in a cause with which he sympathized. Now he was called upon either to relinquish the fruits of his life's endeavors, or to accept honors for fighting against the country of his birth. In this exigency he sacrificed himself unfalteringly at the patriotic shrine. The persecutions to which he was subjected and the fortitude with which he bore them are related in the memorial which he presented to Benjamin Franklin, taking up the narrative in August, 1779:

*To his Excellency, Benjamin Franklin, minister plenipotentiary from the United States of America, at the Court of France;

The memorial of Thomas Hutchins, a native of New Jersey, in America, and late a captain and engineer in the British King's service, humbly sheweth,

That your Excellency's memorialist was, in the month of August last, taken into custody by virtue of a warrant from Sir John Fielding, of the city of London, in which your memorialist was charged with high treason, for having conveyed information to, and corresponded with, the friends of the United States of America in France. That your memorialist was committed to and kept in Clerkenwell prison, upwards of seven weeks, loaded with irons, put among felons, and treated with every kind of severity and insult, and forbidden to see or write to his friends.

That, after several long examinations at the Board of Trade, the British ministers thought proper to discharge him from prison; and being reduced to great distress by his pay both as captain and engineer being stopped, and being also refused payment of an account which the British government owed him (to the amount of eight hundred and

*_The Works of Benjamin Franklin_, edited by Jared Sparks, vol. viii., pp. 436-438.

sixty-nine pounds, nineteen shillings sterling), he was obliged to take lodgings in a garret, within the verge of the court. Your memorialist was offered two thousand guineas for his captain's commission; but, although he had frequently petitioned to sell it from the beginning of the war between the United States and Great Britain, he was as often refused; and, about three weeks before he was committed to prison, he was offered a majority in one of the new regiments then raising, which he would not accept, as he would not bear arms against his countrymen. Therefore, on the 11th of this month, (February,) finding himself treated with contempt by the British officers, and despairing of obtaining liberty to sell his commission, he sent his resignation to Lord Amherst, both as captain and engineer, and in a private manner withdrew from Great Britain and came into France entirely destitute of money; choosing rather to abandon his commission (though the whole of his fortune) and incur a loss of two thousand nine hundred and sixty-nine pounds, nineteen shillings sterling, (exclusive of his appointment as engineer), than continue in a service altogether irksome and painful to him. Your memorialist begs leave further to represent, that he has served with reputation as a British officer more than twenty-two years, (eighteen whereof he was constantly employed as an engineer,) and that he is most anxiously solicitous of entering into the army of the United States. For these considerations, your memorialist humbly hopes that your Excellency will be pleased to recommend his request, sufferings, and losses to the honorable Congress of the United States, and your memorialist as in duty bound, shall ever pray, &c.

THOMAS HUTCHINS.

Franklin's opinion of him is shown by the letter in which he introduces Hutchins to the President of Congress:

PASSY, 16 March, 1780.

SIR;

The bearer of this, Captain Hutchins, a native of New Jersey, but many years in the English service, has lately escaped from England, where he suffered considerably for his attachment to the American cause. He is esteemed a good officer and an excellent engineer, and is desirous of being serviceable to his country. I enclose his memorial to me, a great part of which is consistent with my knowledge; and I beg leave to recommend him to the favorable notice of Congress, when any affair occurs in which his talents may be useful. I have the honor to be, &c. B. FRANKLIN.

The friendly relation existing between Hutchins and Franklin is further shown by the language

used by Hutchins in his *Topographical Description*,* where he says, "I am obliged to a worthy Friend, and Countryman, for the following just, and judicious observations. They were addressed to the Earl of Hillsborough, in the year 1770,—When Secretary of State for the North-American department." The "worthy Friend" referred to is Benjamin Franklin, and the quotation is taken from the *Observations and Remarks* made by Franklin in pamphlet form and appended to the *Report of the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations on the petition of the Honourable Thomas Walpole, Benjamin Franklin, John Sargent, and Samuel Wharton, Esquires, and their Associates; for A Grant of Lands on the River Ohio, in North America; for the purpose of Erecting a new Government.* (London, J. Almon, MDCCLXXII). The portions quoted by Hutchins are found on pages 66–68 of this pamphlet.† The Earl of Hillsborough, who

*Page [15], *note*.

†Although, as Hutchins states, the observations of Franklin were addressed to Hillsborough in 1770, they were not issued in pamphlet form until 1772. That Hutchins's quotation is from the 1772 pamphlet is shown by the insertion in the quotation of the date, 1772. (See *Topographical Description*, page [16].) The quotation is not verbatim, and that part commencing with "It may not, perhaps, be amiss, to observe," and extending to the end, must have been added from personal correspondence with Franklin. Due to the influence of this protest, submitted in 1770, action was taken contrary to Hillsborough's recommendation, whereupon he resigned. Franklin's pamphlet was just issuing from the press, when he learned of the above event. He immediately discontinued sale of the pamphlet when only five copies had been sold. One of these copies is in the Library of Congress. It is reprinted in Almon (John), *Biographical, Literary, and Political Pamphlets* (London, 1797); and in Sparks's edition of the works of Franklin. The same quotation, evidently copied from Hutchins, appears in Filson (John), *The Discovery, Settlement and Present State of Kentucky* (London, 1793), pp. 17-18.

wrote this report on the famous "Walpole Grant," was bitterly opposed to the scheme and to its advocates. Possibly, for this reason, Hutchins, at that time a British officer, refrained from using Franklin's name. But the quotation was easily recognizable, and undoubtedly helped to direct suspicion toward him, and to intensify the antagonism that had been aroused.

Hutchins was still in France in August, 1780. This appears from the fact that in that month he attested the correctness of copies of nineteen letters at L'Orient.* He doubtless was employed by Franklin up to this time in the service of the United States, and was in a position to supply most valuable information. "He then sailed from l'Orient to Charleston, where he joined the southern army under general Green," says the *New York Daily Gazette.*† Green took command of the southern department, succeeding Gates, on December 3, 1780, so that it must have been about this time that Hutchins reached Charleston. Whether he was connected with the American army prior to presenting his letter of introduction to Congress, or on what date this event took place does not appear; but on May 4, 1781, Congress "*Resolved*, That Thomas Hutchins be appointed geographer to the southern army, with the same pay and emoluments as are allowed to the geog-

*Lincoln (C. H.), *A Calendar of John Paul Jones Manuscripts in the Library of Congress.*

†Vol. i., p. 490, Wednesday, May 20, 1789.

rapher of the main army."* On July 11, 1781, "A letter of this day from Thomas Hutchins was read, signifying his acceptance of the office of geographer to the southern army," and it was "*Resolved*, That the geographer to the main army, and also the geographer to the southern army, be stiled 'geographer to the United States of America,' and commissioned and considered as such."† The letter of acceptance referred to was written in Philadelphia. In this letter, Hutchins said that he had hoped his title might read "Geographer to the United States," instead of "to the southern army." His suggestion was therefore immediately acted upon. And upon July 19, writing at Philadelphia, he signs himself "Geographer United States."

The emoluments of this office were exceedingly modest. The pay for the geographer to the main army, and for the geographer to the southern army were identical. The resolve of Congress of November 12, 1782, determined "That the geographer to the main army, and the geographer to the southern department, be each of them allowed sixty dollars per month, three rations per day, forage for two saddle horses, one two horse covered wagon, six dollars and two thirds of a dollar per month for a servant, for whom they shall be entitled to draw one ration per day, and the clothing allowed to a private soldier."‡

*Journals of Congress, vol. vii., p. 94.
†*Ibid.*, pp. 145-146.
‡*Id.*, vol. viii., p. 10.

No more meritorious appointment than this has ever been made in the annals of American history. It did not err on the side of generosity, was a reward for unexcelled patriotism, and placed in a position which was to become of the first importance, a man whose scientific ability was unquestioned. Hutchins is not the only person who bore the title "Geographer to the United States;" for from December, 1780, to November, 1783, Simeon De Witt was geographer to the main army, and his title was changed with that of Hutchins. But De Witt became surveyor-general of New York in 1784, leaving Hutchins to support the title. Congress thereafter refers to Hutchins as *the* geographer; and in its resolve of June 10, 1785,* on the method of settling Hutchins's accounts, it changes his salary from "four dollars and four rations a day" to "four dollars a day" commencing on November 3, 1783, showing that the military element was considered as having been eliminated at that time.†

Of Hutchins's official acts as geographer prior to the year 1783, practically no record remains. The field of his labors was wide, and not confined to the perfunctory performance of duty. His early travels in Pennsylvania, which had now become the main thoroughfare to the western country, had to some extent identified him with that state. He

*_Journals of Congress_, vol. x., p. 208.

†Justin Winsor in his _Westward Movement_, p. 266, erroneously states that "Congress had in connection with the Ordinance of May 20, 1785, *created* the office of Geographer of the United States."

bore a considerable part in the competition between Virginia and Pennsylvania for the best highway to the West. His maps, drawn while on the Bouquet expedition, definitely marked one military route. He was now called upon in time of peace to continue the work in which he had been engaged under the stress of war.

In 1783, the General Assembly of Pennsylvania took up the question of improving communications within the state. On September 15, 1783,* a resolve was passed, "First,—To view the different roads leading from Susquehanna to Reading and Philadelphia, and point out the most practical mode of improving and repairing the same, and to consider the most probable way of opening a communication between the rivers Susquehanna and Schuylkill; Second,—To receive the proposals of such person or persons as may offer lands to the public for the purpose of building a town or towns on the east bank of the Susquehanna; Third,—To examine the Susquehanna; and, Fourth,—To view the Delaware River." September 20, the Assembly elected by ballot "for performing the duties mentioned in the first and second of the aforesaid resolutions," David Rittenhouse, Thomas Hutchins, and Nathan Sellers.† For their labors the commissioners jointly received the sum of "ninety-five pounds, one shilling and one penny specie."‡

Pennsylvania Archives, vol. x., pp. 128-129.
†*Ibid.*, pp. 129-130.
‡*Minutes* of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, vol. xiii., p. 442.

This important work, containing eminent possibilities for American development, was doubtless prosecuted in such time as the duties of Hutchins's office would allow. Meanwhile, Congress had entered upon the perplexing question of fixing upon a city or cities in which to erect buildings for the use of Congress. A situation near the falls of the Delaware being urged, it was resolved,* on October 7, 1783, "That a committee of five be appointed to repair to the falls of Delaware, to view the situation of the country in its neighborhood, and report a proper district" for erecting buildings. Hutchins, in his capacity of geographer, was directed by this commission to make a survey of the proposed site. In a letter dated Annapolis, December 26, 1783, referring to their commands, he submits to the "Hon.ble Commissioners for viewing the ground near to Trenton for a Federal town," a survey of the "ground above and below the Falls of Delaware."

On April 16, 1784, Hutchins was in Philadelphia, where he presented to Congress forty pamphlets that he had collected. His presence there is probably accounted for by the publication of his book entitled, *An Historical, Narrative and Topographical Description of Louisiana and West-Florida.*† In the preface to this work he says, "Several years residence in the Province of West-Florida, during which I entered into a minute examination of its coasts, harbours, lakes, and rivers,

Journals of Congress, vol. viii., p. 424.

†See "List of Works," *post.*

having made me perfectly acquainted with their situation, bearings, soundings, and every particular requisite to be known by Navigators, for their benefit I am induced to make my observations public." This declaration is sustained by the immense amount of information contained in the book. It succinctly states the history of the territory, narrates its possibilities, and gives directions for its commercial conquest. Hutchins points out very clearly the importance of controlling the navigation of the Mississippi. "Is it not amazing," says he, "true as it is, that few amongst us know this to be the key to the northern part of the western continent? It is the only channel through which that extensive region, bathed by its waters, and enriched by the many streams it receives, communicates with the sea."*

Recognition of Hutchins's scientific ability had come on September 11, 1783, in his appointment as one of the commissioners to run the western end of the boundary line between Virginia and Pennsylvania.† This was the completion of the historic Mason and Dixon's line. The great difficulty was to fix, by astronomical determinations, its western end. To do this, some of the most brilliant scientists of the time were employed. On the part of Virginia they were the Right Reverend James Madison, Bishop of Virginia; Reverend Robert Andrews, John Page, and Andrew Ellicott of Mary-

*Page 23.

†*Minutes* of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, vol. xiii

land. On the part of Pennsylvania they were the Reverend John Ewing, Provost of the University of Philadelphia; David Rittenhouse, Treasurer of the state; John Lukens, Surveyor-General of the state; and Thomas Hutchins. "An anxious Desire," they say, "to gratify the astronomical World in the performance of a problem which has never yet been attempted in any country, by a Precision and Accuracy that would do no Dishonor to our Characters, while it prevents the State of Pennsylvania from the Chance of Losing many hundred Thousands of Acres, secured to it by our agreement of Baltimore, has induced us to suffer our Names to be mentioned in the accomplishment of the Work."*

The undertaking was not commenced until 1784. On May 29 of that year an advance of £100 each was made to Ewing and Hutchins by the Pennsylvania Council, preparatory to their leaving Philadelphia.† Hutchins and Ewing set out for the southwestern corner of Pennsylvania to make astronomical observations, arriving there after much difficulty about the middle of July. They concluded their observations on September 20. Meanwhile, Rittenhouse and Lukens had completed a like task at Wilmington. The commissioners then came together, compared observations, and jointly ran the southern boundary of Pennsylvania. They finished it on November 18, 1784, at which date they were in Washington County, Pennsylvania,

Pennsylvania Archives, vol. x., p. 236.

†*Ibid.*, p. 269.

where their report was written. They agreed to meet at the southwestern corner of Pennsylvania on May 16, 1785, to finish their task by running the western boundary line of Pennsylvania.*

Hutchins had reached Philadelphia by December 15, 1784, for Jacob Hiltzheimer in his diary under that date says, "Thos. Hutchins, just from the backwoods, who has been running the line between Virginia and Pennsylvania, drank tea with us."† He made his report to Congress on March 7, 1785, writing in New York. For his services in connection with this boundary line up to December 23, 1784, Hutchins received as compensation 365 pounds, 15 shillings.‡ In preparation for the continuation of this survey, Hutchins being accountable to Congress for his time, writes from New York on April 21, 1785, informing Congress through its President, Richard Henry Lee, that the executive of Pennsylvania has asked him to run a boundary line "from the termination of the southern boundary of Pennsylvania as far as the River Ohio, which is to be the line of Division between the citizens of Pennsylvania and those of Virginia," and asks permission to accept. President Dickinson had written Hutchins on April 9, 1785,‡‡ and Congress on April 11,‡‡‡ concerning the

*_Pennsylvania Archives_, vol. x., pp. 373-378.

†_Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography_, vol. xvi., p. 169.

‡_Minutes_ of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, Oct. 20, 1784, and Jan. 17, 1785.

‡‡_Pennsylvania Archives_, vol. x., p. 438.

‡‡‡_Ibid._, p. 440.

resumption of the work. Here, however, Hutchins's connection with this survey seems to have ceased. Ewing had resigned on March 26, 1785. Instructions for the survey of July 29, 1785,* do not name Hutchins as a commissioner, and the reports of the commissioners of August 23, 1785,† when they had reached the Ohio, and of October 4, 1786,‡ when the line was completed, are not signed by Hutchins. He was evidently prevented from running this line by the events of the month of May, 1785, which marked out the work which was chiefly to occupy the remainder of his life. The events of this month were largely brought about by the Ohio Company of Associates organized for the settlement of the western territory.

In the year 1783, General Rufus Putnam became interested in a plan, proposed by Colonel Timothy Pickering, for creating a new state west of the Ohio River. In June of that year he forwarded to the President of Congress, through General Washington, who recommended it, a petition signed by two hundred and eighty-eight officers of the army asking that their bounty lands be located in the present state of Ohio, east of the Scioto River. Congress took no action on this petition. A cession to Congress of practically the whole western territory was made by the states holding claims upon it, an ordinance for its government

Pennsylvania Archives, vol. x., p. 489.

†*Ibid.*, p. 506.

‡*Id.*, vol. xi., p. 69.

being drawn up by Thomas Jefferson and adopted by Congress on April 23, 1784. The Ordinance of May 20, 1785, provided a method of survey and sale of this land. Upon Hutchins, by virtue of his office of geographer, fell the duty of directing this work.

Hazard, writing to Belknap on June 13, 1789, relates the following anecdote concerning Hutchins's early connection with this survey. "The Ohio Company purchased their tract on condition of paying 500,000 dollars at the time of signing the contract, and the remaining 500,000 upon a *return of the survey* being made. The payments were to be made in certificates, which, you know, bear an interest of 6 per cent. Of course the Ohio Company drew an interest of 6 per cent on 500,000 dollars till the return of survey is made. Captain Hutchins attended to this, and intimated it to Congress, as a reason why he should be sent, without delay, to make that survey. I mention this as a proof of fidelity in office. He went to do the business, and died before it was accomplished."* Hutchins's survey paved the way for the sale of land to this company, which made the first purchase after the Indian titles had been extinguished. The contract had not been concluded until November 27, 1787, so that the commencement of Hutchins's survey was a prerequisite to the contract.

The land actually acquired was not included in the tract surveyed by Hutchins. It touched the

*Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections*, ser. 5, vol. iii., p. 139.

"seven ranges" only at their southwestern extremity; but if Hutchins had lived to complete the survey he would have covered this region.

Before completing the contract, Doctor Cutler, agent for the company, sought the advice of Hutchins. On July 7, 1787, writing from New York, where he was negotiating with Congress, Cutler says, "Paid my respects this morning to Dr. Holton, and several other gentlemen. Was introduced by Dr. Ewing and Mr. Rittenhouse to Mr. Hutchins, geographer to the United States. Consulted him where to make our location."* And on July 9, "Waited this morning very early on Mr. Hutchins. He gave me the fullest information on the western country, from Pennsylvania to the Illinois, and advised me, by all means, to make our location on the Muskingum, which was decidedly, in his opinion, the best part of the whole of the western country."† Hildreth‡ remarks concerning this advice, "Had the counsel of Mr. Hutchins been strictly followed, and the purchase selected from lands on the Muskingum above the mouth of Liking Creek, at the forks of the Muskingum, a country with which Mr. Hutchins was familiar having visited that region in 1764, as engineer for the army of General Bouquet, the selection would have been far superior to that at the mouth, and along the margin of the Ohio." Further than this, it is plain

*_Life, Journals and Correspondence of Rev. Manasseh Cutler, LL. D._, p. 230.

†_Ibid._, pp. 236-238.

‡_Pioneer History_, pp. 209-210.

that Hutchins was a man whose knowledge was valuable to the Ohio company from its inception; for Col. Timothy Pickering writing to Mr. Hodgdon, on April 14, 1783, says, "General Putnam is warmly engaged in the new-planned settlement on the Ohio. He is very desirous of getting Hutchins' map. Mr. Aitken had them to sell. If possible, pray, forward me one."*

Among the books intended to induce settlement in the Ohio country was one by Doctor Cutler, entitled, *An explanation of the map which delineates that part of the Federal Lands comprehended between Pennsylvania West Line, the rivers Ohio and Scioto, and Lake Erie.* Salem, 1787.† This book was not issued until Hutchins's approval had been obtained. It is printed on the second page of the book, bearing the date, "New York, 28th October, 1787." In this approval Hutchins states that he has resided "upwards of ten years" in the western country.

The parts of the famous ordinance of May 20, 1785, which are interesting for this sketch, are quoted below:

‡An ORDINANCE for ascertaining the mode of disposing of lands in the Western Territory.

BE it ordained by the United States in Congress assembled, That the territory ceded by individual states to the United States, which has been purchased of the Indian inhabitants, shall be disposed of in the following manner:—

**Life, Journals and Correspondence of Rev. Manasseh Cutler, LL. D.*, p. 149.

†A copy of the map referred to is in the Map Division, Library of Congress.

‡*Journals of Congress*, vol. x., p. 167.

A survey ofrrom each state shall be appointed by Congress or a Committee of the States, who shall take an oath for the faithful discharge of his duty, before the geographer of the United States, who is hereby empowered and directed to administer the same. . . . .

The geographer, under whose direction the surveyors shall act, shall occasionally form such regulations for their conduct, as he shall deem necessary; and shall have authority to suspend them for misconduct in office, and shall make report of the same to Congress or to the Committee of the States; and he shall make report in case of sickness, death, or resignation of any surveyor.

The surveyors, as they are respectively qualified, shall proceed to divide the said territory into townships of six miles square, by lines running due north and south, and others crossing these at right angles, as near as may be, unless where the boundaries of the late Indian purchases may render the same impracticable, and then they shall depart, from this rule no farther than such particular circumstances may require. . . .

The first line running north and south as aforesaid, shall begin on the river Ohio, at a point that shall be found to be due north from the western termination of a line which has been run as the southern boundary of the state of Pennsylvania: and the first line running east and west, shall begin at the same point, and shall extend throughout the whole territory; provided that nothing herein shall be construed, as fixing the western boundary of the state of Pennsylvania. The geographer shall designate the townships or fractional parts of townships, by numbers progressively from south to north; always beginning each range with No. 1; and the ranges shall be distinguished by their progressive numbers to the westward. The first range extending from the Ohio to the lake Erie, being marked No. 1. The geographer shall personally attend to the running of the first east and west line; and shall take the latitude of the extremes of the first north and south line, and of the mouths of the principal rivers. . . . . The plats of the townships respectively, shall be marked by sub-divisions into lots of one mile square, or 640 acres, in the same direction as the external lines, and numbered from 1 to 36; always beginning the succeeding range of the lots with the number next to that with which the preceding one concluded. . . . . As soon as seven ranges of townships and fractional parts of townships, in the direction from south to north, shall have been surveyed, the geographer shall transmit plats thereof to the board of treasury, who shall record the same with the report in well bound books to be kept for that purpose. And the geographer shall make similar returns from time to time of every seven ranges as they may be surveyed. . . . .

Done by the United States in Congress assembled, the twentieth

day of May, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-five, and of our sovereignty and independence the ninth.*

RICHARD H. LEE, P.

CHARLES THOMSON, SEC'Y.

This ordinance has been quoted at length, first, because it is an official statement of the present land system of the United States, having been changed only in the method of marking; and, second, because it shows how intimately Hutchins was connected with this great event. He is given entire charge of the survey; and his influence is seen many times in the ordinance. The fixed point due north from which the survey was to commence, Hutchins had assisted in determining, in 1784, and being at the seat of government when the ordinance was framed, he doubtless was consulted concerning this detail. He is instructed personally to run the east and west line upon which the survey of the whole territory depended.

As to the origin of the system of surveying set forth in this ordinance there has been much discussion. The credit for inventing it has been variously given to Gen. W. H. Harrison,† Gen. Rufus Putnam,‡ first surveyor-general, 1797–1803; Jared Mansfield,‡‡ surveyor-general, 1803–1812, and Edward Tiffin,‡‡‡ surveyor-general, 1815–1825. Col-

*An ordinance supplementary to the above was passed on July 9, 1788, removing the element of "states rights" in connection with the western lands.—*Journals of Congress*, vol. xiii., pp. 62-63.

†*Ohio Institute of Geologists and Mining Engineers.* Meeting in 1883. (Reference from Whittlesey.)

‡*Journal* of the Association of Engineering Societies, vol. ii., Nos. 9-10, pp. 282-287.

‡‡Donaldson (T.) *Public Domain*, p. 170.

‡‡‡*Toledo Science Monthly.* (November, 1875.)

onel Whittlesey gives the entire credit to Thomas Hutchins.* His argument hangs on the authorship of the *Historical Account of Bouquet's Expedition against the Ohio Indians, 1764*, which has already been considered.† The appendix to this work contains a scheme of colonization and military defense against the Indians which has the rudiments of the system adopted in the Ordinance of May 20, 1785. It contains the first announcement of an allotment in squares of a mile on each side. If Hutchins wrote this appendix, the evidence is strong, though not conclusive, that he was the inventor of the system. Unquestionably, he was the first person to put this system into practice, and he early pointed out to Congress some of its defects.‡ For applying and improving it he is entitled to the credit which has been tardily accorded him. There is evidence, however, that the idea of townships to be surveyed before opened for settlement originated in New England. "As early as June 17, 1732, the General Court of Massachusetts granted six miles square for a township to be laid out in a regular form by a surveyor and chairman under oath."‡‡ In the adoption of the Ordinance of May 20, 1785, the "New England idea" triumphed over the "Virginia idea" of indiscriminate settlement favored by Washington.

**Journal* of the Association of Engineering Societies, vol. iii., No. 11, pp. 275-280.

†See *ante*, p. 15, 16.

‡See *post*, p. 42.

‡‡*Ohio Archæological and Historical Quarterly*, vol. iii., p. 110.

Continuing the necessary preliminaries to the survey, on May 27, 1785, Congress "*Resolved*, That the geographer of the United States be continued in office for a term not exceeding three years; and that he be allowed during his continuance in office, six dollars per day, for his services and expenses."* On the same day the surveyors from the various states were elected. On June 9, the sum of seven hundred dollars was ordered advanced to Hutchins to apply on his salary, and the sum of six thousand dollars to be used by him in the prosecution of the survey.† On June 10 it was "*Resolved*, That in settling the accounts of Mr. Thomas Hutchins, geographer to the United States, he be allowed four dollars and four rations a day, from the time of his accepting his commission, to the 3d day of November, 1783, and that he be allowed four dollars a day from that period to the 27th day of May, 1785, deducting therefrom the time he was employed and paid by the state of Pennsylvania."‡ And on June 30, Hutchins was empowered "to employ three or four Indians to accompany him" in the prosecution of the survey.‡‡

Hutchins lost no time in setting about his appointed work. On September 15, 1785, he writes to the President of Congress that he reached Pittsburg on September 3, and there met the surveyors from Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Mary-

**Journals of Congress*, vol. x., p. 185.
†*Ibid.*, pp. 207 208.
‡*Ibid.*, p. 208.
‡‡*Ibid.*, p. 221.

land, and Virginia. He states that his departure to the westward from Pittsburg had been delayed by the uncertain state of the Indians who seemed likely to disregard the treaties that had been signed. In the postscript to this letter, he points out a defect in the Ordinance of 1785. He says:

> By the Ordinance of Congress I am commanded to lay off each Township six miles square, by Lines running due North & South, and others crossing these at right angles as near as may be; Permit me to observe that as we approach the Pole the meridians have a gradual inclination towards each other until they terminate in a Point, therefore six miles square cannot be comprehended within the Meridians, and it will be impossible for each Township to contain 23,040 acres as intended by Congress without adding in Latitude what may be wanting in Longitude.

Although the assurances from the Indian chiefs were unsatisfactory, he set out from Pittsburg on September 22, but was obliged to return on October 23, having been advised by the Indians not to attempt the survey. He left Pittsburg on November 1 and was in New York by November 24, 1785.

While he was in New York, the following action of Congress was taken: "Friday December 2, 1785. Pursuant to the resolution of the 29th September last, Congress proceeded to the appointment of three commissioners for running a line of jurisdiction between the states of Massachusetts and New-York, conformable to the laws of the said states; and the ballots being taken, Mr. Thomas Hutchins, Mr. John Ewing, and Mr. David Rittenhouse, were elected and appointed."* Hutchins accepted this appointment in a letter written at

**Journals of Congress*, vol. xi., p. 10.

New York, December 12, 1785; but the line was not run until the year 1787 during a respite from his work on the Ohio survey.*

On December 27, 1785, he submitted to Congress, "A brief account of the soil and timber in that part of the Western Territory through which an east and West line has been surveyed—agreeable to an ordinance of Congress of the 20th. of May, 1785. Beginning on the North bank of the Ohio River at a point due North from the Western termination of a line which has been run as the southern boundary of the state of Pennsylvania." The plan accompanying this account "was copied from the original by Mr. Wm. Morris, surveyor appt. by Congress from New York." From the above it may be observed how far the survey had been pushed in the one month during which Hutchins had been at work.

During the months January to May, 1786, he was engaged in preparing for his second surveying expedition. On January 28, however, he read before the American Philosophical Society at Philadelphia his *Description of a remarkable rock and Cascade, near the western side of the Yonghiogeny River, a quarter of a mile from Crawford's ferry, and about twelve miles from Union-Town, in Fayette county, in the state of Pennsylvania.*†

The time for Hutchins's return to the Ohio

*See *post*, p. 46.

†*Early Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*; and *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*, vol. ii., p. 50. See also "List of Works," *post*.

country coming on, Congress on May 9, 1786, instructed him and his surveyors to continue the survey, "provided that they do not proceed further northerly than the east and west line mentioned" in the Ordinance of 1785.* This northern limitation was made on account of the unsettled position of the forty-first parallel. On May 22, Hutchins writes Congress that he will set out for the western territory on May 23. He arrived in Pittsburg on July 25, and sent for Indian chiefs to accompany him on the survey. His expectation was to commence operations on July 12. Letters were received from him in July, August, September, October, and December from various camps within the seven ranges. During part of this time a military escort was necessary for protection from the Indians. On December 2, 1786, he writes from "Ohio county, Va.," that four ranges and forty-two miles of the west side of the fifth range had been completed. Also that the first and second ranges had been surveyed into townships by Captain Martin, and the third and fourth ranges by General Tupper, Colonel Sproat, Colonel Sherman, and Mr. Simpson. In "Ohio county, Va.," the surveyors remained until February, 1787, putting on paper the results of the survey. Hutchins left the western territory on February 1, arriving in New York on February 21. He wrote the next day to inform Congress of that fact.

While absent on the survey, Hutchins must have received the following letter from George

Journals of Congress, vol. xi., p. 55.

Washington, which shows in unmistakable terms how highly Hutchins was esteemed:

MOUNT VERNON, 20 August, 1786.

SIR,

You will see by the letter from the Marquis de Lafayette to me, that the Empress of Russia is desirous of obtaining some authentic documents respecting the language of the natives of this country, for the purpose of compiling a Universal Dictionary. As I have thought no person was more in condition to accomplish that essential service for the republic of letters than yourself, I have taken the liberty of transmitting a specimen of the vocabulary to you, together with a request that you will do me the favor of paying as early and accurate attention to the completion of the matter as your avocations will admit. Persuaded that a gentleman of your taste for science in general, and particularly of your capacity of acquiring the information in question, will enter upon the task with pleasure, I make no apology for troubling you with it. Nor do I think it necessary to add any thing farther on the subject, than that it may be expedient to extend the vocabulary as far as, with the aid of your friends, you conveniently can; and that the greatest possible precision and exactitude will be indispensable in committing the Indian words to paper by a just orthography. With sentiments of esteem and regard, I have the honor to be, etc.*

Whether or not Hutchins furnished the information asked, I am unable to say; but Col. George Morgan, after Hutchins's death, writing from New York on September 1, 1789, says that in examining the papers of the late Mr. Hutchins, he has found the above letter, and wishes to furnish to Washington additional information in case Hutchins has not fully complied with the request.†

Hutchins's time seems to have been completely at the disposal of Congress, for on March 19, 1787, he writes asking permission to go to Philadelphia

*_The Writings of George Washington_, edited by Jared Sparks, vol. ix., p. 195.

†Massachusetts Historical Society, _Collections_, ser. 3, vol. v., p. 286

on private business. In the same month, March 23, 1787, Congress, due to the critical state of public finances, reduced the salary of many federal officers. According to this resolution,* Hutchins is thereafter to be paid "at the rate of fifteen hundred dollars for such time as he may be actually employed in the public service."

On April 18, 1787, he submitted to Congress the plats of the four ranges of the Ohio survey that he had completed. These plats, signed by the surveyors mentioned in Hutchins's letter of December 2, 1786,† and dated 1786, are preserved in the Drafting Division of the United States General Land Office.

Writing, on June 25, 1787, to the President of Congress, he says that Congress having been pleased to nominate him one of the commissioners for running a line between the states of Massachusetts and New York, he will start with Doctor Ewing and Mr. Rittenhouse on the 5th of next month (July) and be absent six weeks.‡ Leave of absence was granted him for this purpose. He was still in New York on July 7 and July 9, for Manasseh Cutler called on him in New York on those dates.‡‡ On September 24, 1787, he was back in New York, having returned from the work of the survey. He submitted his report to Congress on February 4, 1788.

The term of office for which he had been ap-

Journals of Congress, vol. xii., p. 34.

†See *ante*, p. 44.

‡See *ante*, p. 42-43.

‡‡See *ante*, p. 36.

pointed in May, 1785, having expired, Congress, on May 26, 1788,* "agreeably to the order of the day, proceeded to the election of a geographer of the United States, whose commission shall continue for two years, unless sooner revoked, and the ballots being taken, Mr. Hutchins was elected; having been previously nominated by Mr. Williamson." Following the reduction in his salary and his re-election to office, the work of Hutchins's department increased rather than decreased; but he was given greater latitude in the appointment of subordinates. He is directed "to ascertain by himself, or by a deputy duly appointed for the purpose, the boundary line between the United States and the States of New-York and Massachusetts, agreeably to the deeds of cession of the said states."† He set about the preparation for executing this resolution by obtaining the needed sanction from Lord Dorchester, Governor of Canada.‡ He is directed to make surveys for the sale of a tract of land to Mr. Morgan and his associates;‡‡ to survey the lands set aside for the satisfaction of Revolutionary bounty claims;‡‡‡ and he is authorized "to appoint such surveyors as he shall think best qualified," "without any reference to former appointments."‡‡‡‡ In spite of these numerous be-

**Journals of Congress*, vol. xiii., p. 30.
†*Ibid.*, p. 34.
‡*Pennsylvania Archives*, ser. 1, vol. xi., pp. 314-315.
‡‡*Journals of Congress*, vol. xiii., p. 44.
‡‡‡*Ibid.*, pp. 62-63.
‡‡‡‡*Ibid.*, p. 71.

hests, he writes Congress on August 15, 1788, at New York, that he is about to set out for the western territory, "on Monday next," to continue the survey of the seven ranges. He had started by September 2, 1788.* Following his departure, Congress further directed him to survey "the three tracts of Gnaden-hutten, Schoenbrun, and Salem, on the Muskingum,"† which had been reserved to the Moravian Indians by the Ordinance of May 20, 1785. The survey of these tracts was not accomplished until the year 1797, when it was done by "W^m. Rufus Putnam, Deputy Surveyor." The plats of the Salem and Schoenbrun tracts are preserved in the United States General Land Office.

Arriving at Pittsburg, he proceeded in company with the Rev. John Heckewelder to Marietta.‡ Here, however, Hutchins's work was cut short by an illness which is described as "a gradual failing of the nerves, and an almost insensible waste of the constitution." He returned to Pittsburg, where he died on April 28, 1789. Says the *Gazette of the United States*, May 27, 1789,‡‡ under date of Pittsburg, May 2, "He was in a country where he had been early known, and to which he had a particular attachment; in the house of his particular friend, John Ormsby.‡‡‡ He was daily visited during his indisposition by those of this

*Massachusetts Historical Society, *Collections*, ser. 5, vol. iii., p. 60.

†*Journals of Congress*, vol. xiii., p. 131.

‡Rondthaler (Edward), *Life of John Heckewelder*, p. 108.

‡‡Page 52.

‡‡‡For notice of John Ormsby, see *The Olden Time*, vol. ii., pp. 1-5.

place, and by gentlemen occasionally resident or passing through from different parts of the continent. His funeral was attended by a considerable concourse of people, and the service read at his obsequies by Mr. Heckenwelder, a Moravian clergyman, accidentally present, and who had long known the deceased. His merit is well known; a man greatly amiable; and integrity his predominant quality. . . .

"His map early laid the foundation of American geography, and his services since his appointment under the United States, have been universally acknowledged.

"He has measured much earth, but a small space now contains him."

For many years his remains lay in the churchyard of the First Presbyterian Church of Pittsburg. His tombstone bore the inscription:

IN MEMORY OF

THOMAS HUTCHINS,

GEOGRAPHER OF THE UNITED STATES,

WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE APRIL 28TH., 1789.

The present resting-place of his ashes seems a question of doubt; four years ago the cemetery was vacated to make room for an addition to the church.

In surveying the events of Hutchins's life, one cannot fail to be impressed with the variety of his

experiences. His activities were connected with important events in the history of America. The steel of his nature was well tempered to withstand the sudden and prolonged strains that were put upon it. A man of affairs, busy with practical things, he yet found time for scientific and literary performance. A man of principles which he maintained under the most trying circumstances, he gave unmistakable evidence of his patriotism. Having played an honorable part in rescuing the western wilderness from the Indians, having suffered from his love of American liberty, having fought for it in the army of Green, it still remained for him to perform an inestimable service in making this new-won land habitable for its owners. With his band of hardy surveyors he marked off the West in determinate areas, capping off his life's work while pursuing the arts of peace. Discovery, Conquest, Civilization. He became the associate of the foremost scientific men of the country. He held the esteem of Ewing, Rittenhouse, Ellicott, Franklin, and Washington. He assisted in performing undertakings which commanded the attention of the scientific world. His geographical works formed the basis for the famous *American Geography* of Jedidiah Morse, whose name was for half a century a household word. Yet with difficulty the name of Thomas Hutchins has been rescued from oblivion. An unassuming gentleman, always a quiet though powerful force, he did not seek the lime-light of publicity. Yet after more

than a century has elapsed, as we investigate his life, examining him as a pioneer, soldier, patriot, surveyor, litterateur, and scientist, we find him to have been one of the great influences toward progress; a man who justly is entitled to a place among the great American civilizers.

FREDERICK CHARLES HICKS.

Washington, D. C., July, 1904.

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS
LIBRARY

A List of the Works of Thomas Hutchins,
Including Notes on the Map
and Book Reprinted

by

Frederick Charles Hicks

A LIST OF THE WORKS OF THOMAS HUTCHINS, INCLUDING NOTES ON THE MAP AND BOOK REPRINTED

THE map at the end of this volume is reproduced in almost its original size, which is 35¼x42¾ inches. A reduced copy, 19¼x24¾ inches, was published in Paris, in 1781, by Le Rouge in connection with the French edition of the *Topographical Description*. This reduced copy has the following title:

Partie occidentale | de la Virginie, Pensylvanie, | Maryland et Caroline Septle. | la Rivière d' Ohio, et toutes celles qui s'y jettent | partie de la Rivière Mississippi | tout le cours de la Rivière des Illinois | le Lac Erié, partie des Lacs Huron | et Michigan, & | Toutes les contrées qui Bordent | ces Lacs et Rivières, | Par Hutchins Capitaine Anglais. | A Paris, | chéz le Rouge, Rue des grands Augustins | 1781.

The experiences of Hutchins's life prior to 1778, the date of publication of his map, by which he was enabled to collect the requisite geographical information, are narrated in the preceding biographical sketch and in the preface to the *Topographical Description*. Hutchins was acquainted with all the important maps, journals, and descriptions already published; and was indebted to Fry and Jefferson's map of Virginia, 1751, revised by J. Dalrymple, 1755, and republished with corrections, in 1775; and to Lewis Evans's "General Map of the Middle British Colonies in America," 1755, revised and corrected by Thomas Pownall, 1776.

In his *Louisiana and West Florida*, p. 57, Hutchins gives the date of publication of his book and map as "January, 1778;" but this must be a misprint for "November, 1778."

The maps were sold at a guinea apiece, and were for sale in America by Robert Aitkin, of Philadephia.

For special references to the map in this volume, see *ante*, pp. 19, 22, 37, 49.

As an explanation of this map, Hutchins published on the same date the *Topographical Description* which is here reprinted. The title and text of this reprint are reproduced in facsimile from a copy in the Burrows Brothers collection, which differs in several respects from another copy in the Library of Congress. These differences, I believe, have not been previously noted in bibliographies. An examination of the variant copies establishes the fact that there was a second corrected

impression of the book in the year 1778. On the title-page reproduced, there is a typographical error, the letter "l" being substituted for the letter "i" in the phrase "Captain in the 60th Regiment." Also at the back of page [67] are the words, "Entered at Stationers Hall," followed by a list of "Errata." In the second impression of the book, all these errors are corrected, sometimes requiring the respacing of a paragraph. Also, the words, "London, Published according to Act of Parliament Novembr. ye 1st, 1778, by Thos. Hutchins," are omitted from the bottom of the two plans. An extensive correspondence has shown that a considerable number of copies of the second impression are in existence. I have been unable to find a copy of the first impression without the list of errata at the back.

Of this book there have been two editions subsequent to 1778, and one partial reprint.

EDITION OF 1781

Description | topographique | de la Virginie, de la Pensylvanie, | du Maryland et de la Caroline | Septentrionale: | Contenant | les Rivières d' Ohio, Kenhawa, Sioto, | Cherokée, Wabash, des Illinois, du | Mississipi, &c.; | le climat, le sol, les productions, tant | animales que végétales ou minérales; | les montagnes, les rivières, chemins, distances, | latitudes,et de toutes les parties représentées | dans les cartes ci-jointes; | Publiée par Thomas Hutchins, | Capitaine du soixantieme Régiment d'Infanterie: | Accompagnée d'un Plan des Sauts de l'Ohio, d'un autre | de tous les Villages du Canton des Illinois; une Table des | distances en milles entre le Fort-Pitt & l'embouchure de | l'Ohio dans le Mississipi; | Plus, un Supplément, qui contient le Journal de Patrice | Kennedy's, sur la Rivière des Illinois, & un Etat véritable des | différentes Nations & Tribus des Indiens, avec le nombre des Com- | battans. | Traduit de l'Anglois. | A Paris, | chez le Rouge, Géographe, rue des Grands-Augustins | M.DCC.-LXXXI. | Avec Approbation, et Privilége du Roi.

12mo, 68 pp., 1l., 2 maps, 1 tab.

EDITION OF 1787

The title of this edition is identical with that of the 1778 edition, except for a slight difference in spacing. The imprint is: Boston: | Printed and Sold by John Norman, in Marshall's | Lane near the Boston Stone | MDCCLXXXVII.

12mo, 30+2 pp., 2 maps, 1 tab.

REPRINT OF 1797

This reprint is Appendix 4, to Imlay (Gilbert), *A Topographical Description of the Western Territory of North America.* Third edition. London, 1797. Pp. 485-511. The reprint retains Kennedy's *Journal*, but omits the table of distances, the two plans, and Appendix 3.

Hutchins's book was for many years one of the important guides for travel and settlement in the western country. It is now prized as a

historical document, and is classed among the rare and valuable Americana, having been sold at prices ranging from twelve to twenty dollars. Henry Stevens, Son & Stiles in their Catalogue of Books and Pamphlets relating to America, No. LXXXVI, June, 1904, page 1908, offer a copy of the book and map together at £15.

The following are biographical notes and references explanatory of the persons mentioned by Hutchins in the text of his work at the pages indicated:

Page i: *Captain Brehm.*

Lieut. Diederick Brehm. Communicated by G. D. Scull, Esq., of Oxford, Eng.

[In *New England (The) Historical and Genealogical Register*, 8vo., Boston, 1883. Vol. xxxvii., pp. 21-26.]

Pages ii, [7]: *Mr. Lewis Evans.*

National Cyclopædia of American Biography. Vol. xi., p. 427.

Page [2]: *The late Mr. Gist, of Virginia.*

Christopher Gist's journals with Historical, Geographical and Ethnological Notes and Biographies of his contemporaries. By William M. Darlington, Pittsburgh, J. R. Weldin & Co., 1893.

Appleton's Cyclopædia of American Biography. Vol. ii., p. 662.

Pages [10], [13]: *Colonel Gordon.*

See *ante*, pp. 17, 18, and *post*, p 63.

[For the parts of Gordon's *Journal* quoted by Hutchins, see Pownall (Thomas), *A Topographical Description of Such Parts of North America as are Contained in the (Annexed) Map.* London, for J. Almon, 1776. Appendix 4, pp. 2-5.]

Page [11]: *Doctor Hunter.*

See *post*, p. 64.

Page [15]: *A worthy Friend, and Countryman:* [i. e., Benjamin Franklin.]

See *ante*, p. 23-26.

Page [51]: *Patrick Kennedy.*

Patrick Kennedy, the author of the journal contained in Appendix 1 of Hutchins's book, was one of the earliest inhabitants of Kaskaskia, then the capital of the Illinois country and the center of trade and influence. For many years the citizens of Kaskaskia had believed that there were copper mines in the upper Illinois country, as specimens of the metal had frequently been brought in by the Indians. The expedition chronicled in Kennedy's *Journal* was in search of these mines.

Kennedy was one of the framers of a petition of the English merchants of Kaskaskia, addressed on April 10, 1777, "To His Excellency, General Carleton, Governor of the Province of Canada, etc., etc., etc., Residing at Quebec." This petition prayed redress for the unjust discrimination in favor of French settlers, of Mons. Phillippe de Rocheblave, the new governor of the post.*

Kennedy is mentioned as one of the witnesses at an examination of one Henry Butler, at Post Vincennes before Governor Rocheblave, on February 15-16, 1778. This examination was to obtain information concerning the operations of the Revolutionary army in the east.

When the expedition of George Rogers Clark for the "conquest of the Illinois" from the British was planned, Kennedy joined Clark's forces. He is mentioned in the manuscript journal of Major Bowman (Feb. 17, 1779), as commissary of the expedition. This was before the taking of Post Vincennes. And when Clark, on March 20, 1779, set out from Vincennes for Detroit, "Patrick Kennedy, Quartermaster," was one of the officers left in charge of the garrison.

Under the acts of Congress granting donations of four hundred acres of land each to heads of families in the district of Kaskaskia, Kennedy's claim for his allotment was approved by the board of commissioners, he having cultivated and improved land prior to 1788.†

OTHER PUBLISHED WORKS‡

Accounts transmitted by Col. Bouquet to Sir Jeffery Amherst.

[In *Gentleman's (The) Magazine; and Historical Chronicle.* By Sylvanus Urban. 8vo., London, for D. Henry and R. Cave, 1763. Vol. xxxiii., pp. 487-489.]

The above is attributed by Col. Charles Whittlesey to Thomas Hutchins. There seems to be little foundation for his conjecture.

Description of a remarkable rock and cascade, near the western side of Youghiogeny river, a quarter of a mile from Crawford's ferry, and about twelve miles from Union-Town, in Fayette county, in the state of Pennsylvania. By Thomas Hutchins.

*For this and following references, see *Illinois Historical Collections*, vol. i. The data are taken from manuscripts in the Canadian Archives.

†*American State Papers: Public Lands*, vol. ii., p. 163.

‡The three articles in the *Philosophical Transactions of the Royal Society of London*, vols. lxv. (1775), lxvi. (1776), lxxiii. (1783) which have frequently been attributed to Hutchins, were written by a Thomas Hutchins who was governor of Albany Fort, on Hudson Bay.

Hon. H. W. Beckwith in *Illinois State Historical Library. Collections.* 1903 vol. i. Appendix, page 46, attributes to Hutchins the authorship of "A plan of Cascaskies" in Pittman's *The Present State of the European Settlements on the Mississippi, 1770.* The copy of the plan in the Library of Congress is by "Thos. Kitchin," the famous English geographer.

[In American Philosophical Society, *Transactions,* Quarto. Philadelphia, the Society, 1786. Vol. ii., p. 50.]

——*Idem.*

[In *Annual (The) Register or a View of the History, Politics, and Literature for the year 1787.* 8vo., London, for J. Dodsley, 1789. Vol. xxix., "Natural History," pp. 55-56.]

——*Idem.*

[In Imlay (Gilbert), *A Topographical Description of the Western Territory of North America.* Third edition, 8vo., London, J. Debrett, 1797, pp. 304-305.]

An historical account of the expedition against the Ohio Indians, in the year 1764, under the command of Henry Bouquet, Esq., colonel of foot, and now brigadier general in America, &c., including his transactions with the Indians, relative to the delivery of their prisoners, and the preliminaries of peace. With an introductory account of the preceeding campaign and battle of Bushy-Run. To which are annexed military papers, containing reflections on the war with the savages; a method of forming frontier settlements; some account of the Indian country, with a list of nations, fighting men, towns, distances and different routs. The whole illustrated with a map and copperplates. Published from authentic documents, by a Lover of his Country. Philadelphia, W. Bradford, M.DCC.LXV.

Quarto, xiii.+71 pp., 1 map, 2 plans.

For the reasons stated in the biographical sketch, *ante,* pp. 16, 16, 40, and for reference purposes, this book is included in the list of Hutchins's works.

——*Idem.* Philadelphia printed: London, reprinted for T. Jefferies, M.DCC.LXVI.

Quarto, xiii.+71 pp., 1 map, 2 plans, 2 pl.

Plans on reduced scale. Additional plates engraved by Grignon, from the earliest drawings of Benjamin West.

——*Idem.* [In French.] A Amsterdam: chez Marc-Michel Rey, M.DCC.LXIX.

8vo, half-title, title, vi.-xvi., 147, ix pp., 4 folded plans, 2 pl.

Translated by C. G. F. Dumas. Contains biography of Bouquet.

——*Idem.* Dublin: printed for John Milliken, 1769. *12mo., xx+99 pp., maps, pl.*

——*Idem.*

[In *Olden (The) Time.* 8vo., Pittsburgh, 1846-1848. Vol. i., pp. 203-221, and 241-261.]

Without the maps and plates.

——*Idem.* Cincinnati, O., R. Clarke & Co., 1868. *8vo., xxiii.+ 162 pp., 1 map, 2 plans, 2 pl.*

Preface by Francis Parkman. Reprinted from London edition, 1766, with translation of Bouquet biography from French edition. No. 1, in "Ohio Valley Historical Series."

An historical narrative and topographical description of Louisiana, and West-Florida, comprehending the river Mississippi with its principal branches and settlements, and the rivers Pearl, Pascagoula, Mobille, Perdido, Escambia, Chacta-Hatcha, &c., the climate, soil, and produce, whether animal, vegetable, or mineral; with directions for sailing into all the bays, lakes, harbours and rivers on the north side of the Gulf of Mexico, and for navigating between the islands situated along the coast, and ascending the Mississippi river. By Thomas Hutchins, geographer to the United States. Philadelphia: printed for the author, and sold by Robert Aitken, M.DCC.LXXXIV.

8vo., iv.+94 pp., il.

——*Idem.*

[In Imlay (Gilbert), *A Topographical Description of the Western Territory of North America.* Third edition, 8vo., London, J. Debrett, 1797. Appendix I., pp. 388-458.]

Carte des environs du fort Pitt et de la nouvelle province Indiana, dediée a M. Franklin. 9x12.

[In Hutchins (Thomas), *Description Topographique de la Virginie.* 12mo., Paris, le Rouge, 1781. At end.]

A map of the country on the Ohio & Muskingum rivers shewing the situation of the Indian towns with respect to the army under the command of Colonel Bouquet. By Thos. Hutchins, asst. engineer. 9¾x12½.

[In *Historical (An) Account of the Expedition against the Ohio Indians in the Year 1764.* 8vo., Philadelphia, 1765. Front.]

Same map in all the editions and reprints of this work except that in *Olden Time.*

——*Idem.* 9¾x12½.

[In Jefferys (Thomas), *A General Topography of North America and the West Indies.* Folio, London, for R. Sayer & T. Jefferys, 1768. No. 52.]

——*Idem.* 9½x12½.

[In Hildredth (Samuel Prescott), *Pioneer History.* 8vo., Cincinnati, H. W. Derby & Co., 1848. Between pp. ii.-iii.]

——*Idem.* 3¾x4¾.

[In Winsor (Justin), *Narrative and Critical History of America.* Folio, Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1888. Vol. vi., p. 696.]

——*Idem.* 7½x9¾.

[In Parkman (Francis), *History of the Conspiracy of Pontiac.* 8vo, Boston, Little, Brown & Co., 1855. Between pp. 478-479.]

Plan of the battle near Bushy-Run, gained by Colonel Bouquet, over the Delawares, Shawanes, Mingoes, Wyandots, Mohikons, Miamies & Ottawas; on the 5th. and 6th. of August, 1763. Survey'd by Thos. Hutchins, assistant engineer. 5½ x 5¾.

[In *Historical (An) Account of the Expedition against the Ohio Indians in the Year 1764.* 8vo., Philadelphia, 1765. Between pp. 24-25.]

Same plan in all the editions and reprints of this work, except that in *Olden Time.*

——*Idem.* 5¾x5¾.

[In Jefferys (Thomas), *A General Topography of North America and the West Indies.* Folio, London, for R. Sayer and T. Jefferys, 1768. No. 53.]

——*Idem.* 4¾x4¾.

[In Winsor (Justin), *Narrative and Critical History of America.* Folio, Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1888. Vol. vi., p. 693.]

——*Idem.* 11x16¼.

[In Rupp (Israel Daniel), *Early History of Western Pennsylvania* 8vo., Pittsburgh, 1848. Facing p. 145.]

A plan of the rapids in the river Ohio, by Thos. Hutchins. I. Cheevers sculpt. 5¾x7¼. [1766.]

[In his *A Topographical Description of Virginia.* 12mo., London, 1778. Between pp. 8-9.]

"See annexed plan. It is a correct description of these Rapids, made by the editor, on the spot in the year 1766."

——*Idem.* 2¾x4½.

[In Filson (John), *The Discovery, Settlement and Present State of Kentucky.* 8vo., London, for J. Stockdale, 1793. Inset to Filson's map of Kentucky. Between pp. 8-9.]

——*Idem.* Engraved for Imlay's *American Topography.* T. Conder, sculpt. Published Feby. 1st., 1793, by J. Debrett, Picadilly, London. 6x7¼.

[In Imlay (Gilbert), *A Topographical Description of the Western Territory of North America.* Third edition, 8vo., London, J. Debrett, 1797. Between pp. 32-33.]

Contains additions to original plate, and omits Hutchins's name.

A Plan of the Several Villages in the Illinois Country, with Part of the River Mississippi, &c., by Thos. Hutchins. 7¼x5.

[In his *A Topographical Description of Virginia.* 12mo., London, 1778. Between pp. 40-41.]

——*Idem.* 7½x1½.

[In Parkman (Francis), *History of the Conspiracy of Pontiac.* 8vo, Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1855. Between pp. 512-513.]

——*Idem.* 5¼x3¾.

[In Winsor (Justin), *Narative and Critical History of America.* Folio, Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1888. Vol. vi., p. 700.]

——*Idem.* 7½x4½.

[In Ontario and Manitoba. *Matter of the Boundary between the Provinces of Ontario and Manitoba. Copies of maps produced on behalf of Ontario.* Map "A".]

A survey of that part of the Indian country through which Colonel Bouquet marched in 1764. By Thomas Hutchins, assistant engineer. 4¾x12½.

[In *Historical (An) Account of the Expedition against the Ohio Indians in the Year 1764.* 8vo., Philadelphia, 1765. Front.]

Same map in all the editions and reprints of this work, except that in *Olden Time.*

——*Idem.* 4¾x12½.

[In Jefferys (Thomas), *A General Topography of North America and the West Indies.* Folio, London, for R. Sayer & T. Jefferys, 1768. No. 52.]

——*Idem.* 4¾x12½.

[In Hildredth (Samuel Prescott), *Pioneer History.* 8vo., Cincinnati, H. W. Derby & Co., 1848. Between pp. ii-iii.]

UNPUBLISHED WORKS

MANUSCRIPTS IN THE LIBRARY OF THE PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, PHILADELPHIA

A folio volume with cover title, *Papers of Thos. Hutchins, Geographer General U. S., 1771-84.* These papers were presented to the Society in 1876 by Prof. W. S. Cooley. There is no record of how they came into his possession. Besides many miscellaneous notes, sketches, etc., the volume contains the following items. Those marked with an asterisk (*) are not Hutchins's own work.

Beginning at the Shawanoe River the 16th. Augst., 1769 and proceeded down the River. *Folio, 8 pp.*

Courses of the Kaskaskia River. *Folio, 18 pp.*

Courses of the Shawanoe River from the mouth upwards. *Folio, 12 pp.*

A Description of part of the Country westward of the River Ohio with the Distances Computed from Fort Pitt to the several Indian towns by Land and Water. *18 pp. and 5 maps.*

A Description of Several Parts of the Western Country. *Folio, 43 pp.*

A Description of the Sea Coast, Harbours, Lakes, Rivers, &c., of the Province of West Florida. *Quarto, 41 pp.*

[Descriptive notes, field notes, etc., relating to Lower Mississippi and the lakes near the Gulf.] *37 pp.+12 pp.*

An Estimate of the Expence it will take to finish compleatly, as well the Works already begun, as those originally intended to be made at Pensacola, by Order of the Commander in Chief of North America. [Dated], London, May 8th. 1777. [Signed], Tho: Hutchins, Acting Engineer. *Folio, 1l.*

First Expedition of the French into N. America. *Folio, 16 pp.*

Journal from Susquehannah to the Ohio. *Folio, 28 pp.*

A Journal of a march from Fort Pitt to Venango and from thence to Presqu'Isle. *Folio, 3 pp.*

Printed in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, vol. ii, pp. 149–153.

*Journal of a surveying party in employment of Capt: Johnson, Thos: Hutchins, Alex. MaCullough and Hall Bay, Esq. 26th. July to 17th. Sept. 1774. Pensacola, James Nowland. Copied by Right Rev'd Geo: Uppold, D. D. Ward, Librarian, Binder. [Cover Title.] *Quarto, 23 ll.*

Copy made at Pittsburg, December 4, 1846, from the original in possession of David T. Morgan.

*Journal of Capt. Harry Gordon down the Ohio River, 1766.

Incomplete copy ending with October 28, 1766.

*A Journal of Gen. Sullivan's Campaign to the Susquehannah & a Draft of the same. *Folio, 10 pp.*

Locations of good Lands on the Waters of the Monongahela, Little Canhawa, in the Traders Tract & on the Great Canhawa. *Folio, 3 pp.*

Letters

To Captn. James Young, Paymaster to the Pennsylvania Troops. [Dated], Pittsburgh, Augt. 6th., 1759. *Folio, 2 pp.*

To Mr. George Morgan, Merchant, Kaskaskia. [Dated], Ft. Chartres, 13th Septr., 1770. *Folio, 2 pp.*

To Robert Lettue Hooper Esq. [Dated], Philada., 28th., Novr. 1771. *Folio, 2 pp.*

Maps

Course of the Tage River. 13x16.

[Map of "Fort at Pittsburgh" and "Fort Duquesne."] Colored, 10¾x14.

Insets, "Profile for Fort Duquesne," and "Profile for Pittesburgh." Has explanatory legend.

[Map of Kentucky river.] 12x7.

[Map of the Lower Mississippi.] 7x11.

[Map of the River Apelousa and bay.] 11x9.

"Drawn from memory from Dr. Lorimer who has the original manuscript from draft taken by a Frenchman."

[Map of the Wabash River.] 15x12.

[Map of the White River and part of the Mississippi.] 13x8.

Shows "Fort Gabriel," "White River," "Mississippi," "Sneake Bluff," and "New Fort."

*[Map showing Gen. Sullivan's route.] 18x13.

Gives "Senica Lake," "Cayuga Lake," and route from "Chenissee River" to "Coharo" at head of "Cayuga Lake," and thence to "Fort Read" and "F. Sullivan."

Notes on Tuscarawas (Ohio) country, with map.

*Observations on the Bones commonly supposed to be Elephants Bones which have been found near the River Ohio in America. By William Hunter, M. D., F. R. S. *Quarto, 18 pp.*

Copied from *Philosophical Transactions*, 1768. See also note to *Topographical Description*, p. [11].

*[Parchment commission of Thomas Hutchins, Esq., appointing him "Captain Lieutenant to that company in the Second Battalion of Our Sixtieth or Royal American Regiment of Foot, commanded by Our Right Trusty and Wel-beloved Councillor, Sir Jeffery Amherst." Dated September 24, 1775.]

Politicks of the Ohio Country. *Folio, 3 pp.*

Remarks on the country of the Illinois, &c. &c. [ending with], An account of the Exports from the Illinois, from Septr. 1769 to September, 1770. *Folio, 8 pp.*

Remarks on the River Amit. *Folio, 1 l.*

Remarks relating to the Rivers Mississippi, Ibberville, Amit & Lakes Maurepas & Pontchatrain. *Folio, 2 ll.*

The Rout from Fort Pitt to Sandusky, and thence to Detroit. [and] The Rout by land from Fort Pitt to Venango; and from thence to Le Boeuf, and Presqu'isle. *Folio, 12 pp.*

Of the second item, there is also a separate copy. *6 pp.*

Some Remarks on Georgia and South Carolina. *Folio, 19 pp.*

Topographical Description of Virginia, Carolina and Georgia. *Folio, 3 pp.*

MANUSCRIPTS IN THE LIBRARY OF THE STATE DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C.

A folio volume with cover title, "The papers of the Continental Congress. Letters of J. Carleton and T. Hutchins." Plans. Vol. lx., pp. 1 to 453. Hutchins's letters commence with page 160, where they are headed, "Letters. Thomas Hutchins, geographer. From July 11, 1781, to 15 Augt., 1788 inclu."

This volume contains thirty letters written by Hutchins to the President of Congress concerning matters pertaining to the office of geographer. Accompanying one of these is a paper entitled, "A brief account of the soil and timber in that part of the Western Territory through which an east and west line has been surveyed—agreeable to an ordinance of congress of the 20th. of May 1785. Beginning on the North bank of the Ohio River at a point due North from the Western termination of a line which has been run as the southern boundary of the state of Pennsylvania." *Folio, 8 pp.*

MANUSCRIPT PLATS IN THE DRAFTING DIVISION, UNITED STATES GENERAL LAND OFFICE, WASHINGTON, D. C.

In this Division are seventy-nine manuscript plats of the seven ranges surveyed in Ohio. Each is mounted upon a board 20x16 inches in size, the plats themselves being each 12x12 inches. The scale is 40 chains to one inch. They indicate the survey only upon exterior lines, although in many instances the section lines are drawn. The sections sold have been indicated by a later hand, the date of sale being given. Each plat is signed by the surveyor who ran the lines. Plats for townships 4, 5, 9, 15 and 16, in ranges 2, 5, 7, 7 and 7, respectively are wanting. The plats of the thirty-eight townships in ranges one to four were surveyed and drawn under the direction of Thomas Hutchins. See "Biographical Sketch," page 46.

MANUSCRIPTS IN THE CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Two letters written by Hutchins to Hon. John Montgomery. [Dated], Philadelphia, May 19 and May 26, 1784, respectively. These letters are printed in *Magazine of Western History*, vol. iv, May-Oct., 1886, p. 684.

MANUSCRIPTS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

[*Transcripts in Canadian Archives.*]

Eleven letters to Colonel Bouquet, and one to Major Gates, written in the years 1759-1765.

[*Bouquet Papers.*]

Eighteen letters to Brigadier Haldimand, one to Captain Sowers, one to Lieutenant Cambel, and one to Alexander Macullogh, written in the years 1766-1774.

[*Haldimand Papers.*]

A sketch of the Ouabache &c. from Post Vincent to the Ohio. By Tho: Hutchins. [1768].

[*Haldimand Papers*, 21,686, p. 23.]

Reproduced (6½ x 6 in.) in Hulbert (A. B.), *Historic Highways of America*. Quarto, Cleveland, O., The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1903, vol. viii., page 35.

Shows "Path from Kaskasquias to Post Vincent."

THOMAS HUTCHINS

A TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION OF VIRGINIA, PENNSYLVANIA, MARYLAND, AND NORTH CAROLINA

LONDON: Printed for the Author, 1778

Text and plates reproduced from a copy of the original edition in possession of the Publishers; large map photolithographed from the original in the Library of Congress

A

TOPOGRAPHICAL DESCRIPTION

OF

VIRGINIA, PENNSYLVANIA, MARYLAND, AND *NORTH CAROLINA,*

COMPREHENDING THE

RIVERS OHIO, KENHAWA, SIOTO, CHEROKEE, WABASH, ILLINOIS, MISSISIPPI, &c.

THE

CLIMATE, SOIL AND PRODUCE,

WHETHER

ANIMAL, VEGETABLE, OR MINERAL;

THE

MOUNTAINS, CREEKS, ROADS, DISTANCES, LATITUDES, &c. and of every Part, laid down in the annexed MAP.

Published by THOMAS HUTCHINS,
CAPTAIN In the 60th Regiment of Foot.

WITH A

PLAN of the RAPIDS of the OHIO, a PLAN of the several VILLAGES in the ILLINOIS COUNTRY, a TABLE of the DISTANCES between FORT PITT and the Mouth of the OHIO, all Engraved upon Copper.

AND

An APPENDIX, containing Mr. PATRICK KENNEDY's JOURNAL up the ILLINOIS RIVER, and a correct List of the different NATIONS and TRIBES of INDIANS, with the Number of FIGHTING MEN, &c.

LONDON:

Printed for the AUTHOR, and Sold by J. ALMON, opposite Burlington House, in Piccadilly.

M DCC LXXVIII.

THE PREFACE.

THE Map, which the following ſheets are intended to explain, comprehends almoſt the whole of the country, lying between the 34th and 44th degrees of latitude, and the 79th and 93d degrees of longitude, and deſcribes an extent of territory, of about 850 miles in length, and 700 miles in breadth; and one, which, for healthfulneſs, fertility of ſoil, and variety of productions, is not, perhaps, ſurpaſſed by any on the habitable globe.

Thoſe parts of the country lying *weſtward* of the Allegheny mountain, and upon the rivers *Ohio* and *Miſſiſippi*, and upon moſt of the other rivers; and the lakes (laid down in my Map) were done from my own Surveys, and corrected by my own Obſervations of latitudes, made at different periods preceding, and during all the campaigns of the *laſt* war (in ſeveral of which I acted as an Engineer) and *ſince* in many reconnoitring tours, which I made through various parts of the country, between the years 1764 and 1775.

I have compared my own Obſervations, and Surveys, reſpecting the lakes, with thoſe made by Captain Brehm, of the 60th

[ii] Regiment of Foot (who was for many years employed as an Engineer in North America) and I find, that they correſpond with more exactneſs than Surveys uſually do, which are made by different perſons, at different times;—and I am happy in this opportunity, of expreſſing my obligations to this Gentleman, for the cheerfulneſs with which he furniſhed me with his Surveys and Remarks.

It is fit alſo, that I ſhould take notice, that in the account which I have given of ſeveral of the *branches* of the Ohio, and Alleghany rivers, I have adopted the words of the late ingenious Mr. Lewis Evans, as I found he had properly deſcribed them in the Analyſis to his Map of the Middle Colonies.—And as to that portion of my Map, which repreſents the country lying on the *caſtern* ſide of the Allegheny mountain,—I take the liberty of informing my Readers, that my reaſon for inſerting it was to ſhew the ſeveral communications that are *now* made, and others which may be hereafter, eaſily, made, between the navigable branches of the *Ohio* and *Allegheny* rivers, and the rivers in *Virginia* and *Pennſylvania*, which fall into the Atlantic ocean, from the weſt and north-weſt.

London, Nov. 1, 1778.

A

Topographical Description, &c.

THE lands lying on a weſterly line, between the *Laurel* Mountain and the *Allegheny* River, and thence northerly up that River for 150 miles, on both ſides of the ſame, tho' not much broken with high mountains, are not of the ſame excellent quality with the lands to the ſouthward of Fort Pitt. They conſiſt chiefly of *White Oak*, and *Cheſnut* ridges; and in many places of poor *Pitch Pines*, interſperſed with tracts of good land; and low meadow grounds.

The lands comprehended between the River *Ohio*, at Fort Pitt, and the *Laurel* Mountain, and thence continuing the ſame breadth from Fort Pitt to the Great Kanhawa River, may, according to my own [2] obſervations, and thoſe of the late Mr. Giſt, of Virginia, be generally, and juſtly deſcribed as follows.

The vallies adjoining to the branches or ſprings of the middle forks of *Youghiogeny*, are narrow towards its ſource,—but there is a conſiderable quantity of good farming grounds on the hills, near the largeſt branch of that River.—The lands within a ſmall diſtance of the *Laurel* Mountain (through which the *Youghiogeny* runs) are in many places broken and ſtoney, but *rich* and well timbered; and in ſome places, and particularly on *Laurel* Creek, they are rocky and mountainous.

From the *Laurel* Mountain, to *Monongahela*, the firſt ſeven miles are good, level farming grounds, with fine meadows; the timber, white Oak, Cheſnut, Hickory, &c.—The ſame kind of land continues ſoutherly (12 miles) to the upper branches or forks of this River, and about 15 miles northerly to the place where the *Youghiogeny* falls into the *Monongahela*.—The lands, for about 18 miles [3] in the ſame Courſe of the laſt-mentioned River, on each ſide of it, tho' hilly, are *rich* and well timbered. — The trees are Walnut, Locuſt, Cheſnut, Pop-

lar, and Sugar or ſweet Maple. — The low lands, near the River, are about a mile, and in ſeveral places two miles wide. — For a conſiderable way down the River, on the eaſtern ſide of it, the intervals are extremely *rich*, and about a mile wide. The Upland for about 12 miles eaſtwardly, are uncommonly fertile, and well timbered; — the low lands, on the weſtern ſide, are narrow; but the Uplands, on the eaſtern ſide of the River, both up and down, are excellent, and covered with Sugar trees, &c.

Such parts of the country which lie on ſome of the branches of the *Monongahela*, and acroſs the heads of ſeveral Rivers, that run into the *Ohio*, tho' in general hilly, are exceedingly fruitful and well watered. — The timber is Walnut, Cheſnut, Aſh, Oak, Sugar trees, &c.—and the interval or meadow lands are from 250 yards to a quarter of a mile wide.

[4] The lands lying nearly in a *northweſterly direction* from the *Great Kanhawa River* to the *Ohio*, and thence northeaſterly, and alſo upon *Le Tort*'s Creek, *Little Kanhawa River*, *Buffaloe*, *Fiſhing*,

Weeling, and *the two upper*, and *two lower*, and ſeveral other very conſiderable *Creeks* (or what, in Europe, would be called large Rivers,) and thence eaſt, and ſouth-eaſt to the *River Monongahela*, are, in point of quality, as follows.

The borders or meadow lands, are a mile, and in ſome places near two miles wide; and the Uplands are in common of a moſt fertile ſoil, capable of abundantly producing *Wheat*, *Hemp*, *Flax*, &c.

The lands which lie upon the *Ohio*, at the mouths of, and between the above *Creeks*, alſo conſiſt of rich intervals and very fine farming grounds.--The whole country abounds in *Bears*, *Elks*, *Buffaloe*, *Deer*, *Turkies*, &c.---An unqueſtionable proof of the extraordinary goodneſs of its ſoil! *

[5] *Fort Pitt* ſtands at the confluence of the *Allegheny* and *Monongahela* Rivers; in latitude 40° 31′ 44″; and about five degrees *weſtward* of Philadelphia.--In the year 1760, a ſmall town, called *Pittſburgh*, was built near *Fort Pitt*, and about 200 families

* *Indiana*, as may be ſeen in my Map, lies within the territory *here* deſcribed. It contains about three millions and an half of Acres, and was granted to Samuel Wharton, William Trent and George Morgan Eſquires, and a few other perſons, in the year 1768.

reſided in it; but upon the Indian war breaking out (in the month of May 1763,) They abandoned their houſes, and retired into the fort.

In the year 1765 the preſent town of *Pittſburgh* was laid out. It is built on the Eaſtern bank of the River *Monongahela*, about 200 yards from *Fort Pitt*.

The junction of the *Allegheny* and *Monongahela* rivers, forms the River *Ohio*, and this diſcharges itſelf into the *Miſſiſippi*, (in latitude 36° 43′) about 1188 computed miles from *Fort Pitt*. The *Ohio* in its paſſage to the *Miſſiſippi*, glides thro' a pleaſant, fruitful and healthy country;---and carries a great uniformity of breadth, from 400 to 600 yards, except at its confluence with the *Miſſiſippi*, and [6] for 100 miles above it, where it is 1000 yards wide. The *Ohio*, for the greater part of the way to the *Miſſiſippi*, has many meanders, or windings, and riſing grounds upon both ſides of it.

The reaches in the *Ohio* are in ſome parts from two to four miles in length, and one of them, above the *Muſkingum* River, called the *Long Reach*, is ſixteen

miles and a half long. The *Ohio*, about 100 miles *above*, or northerly of the *Rapids*, (formerly called the *Falls*) is in many places 700 yards wide; and as it approaches them, the *high* grounds on its borders gradually diminiſh, and the country becomes more level. Some of the banks, or heights of this River, are at times overflowed by great freſhes, yet there is ſcarce a place between *Fort Pitt* and the *Rapids* (a diſtance of 705 computed miles) where a good road may not be made; and horſes employed in drawing up large barges (as is done on the margin of the River *Thames* in *England*, and the *Seine* in *France*) againſt a ſtream remarkably gentle, except in high freſhes. The heights of the banks [7] of the *Ohio* admit them every where to be ſettled, as they are not liable to crumble away. And to theſe Remarks, it may be proper to add the following obſervations of the ingenious Mr. *Lewis Evans*, as publiſhed in the Analyſis to his Map of the Middle Colonies of *North America*, in the year 1755.---He ſays, that the " *Ohio* River, as the winter ſnows " are thawed, by the warmth or rains

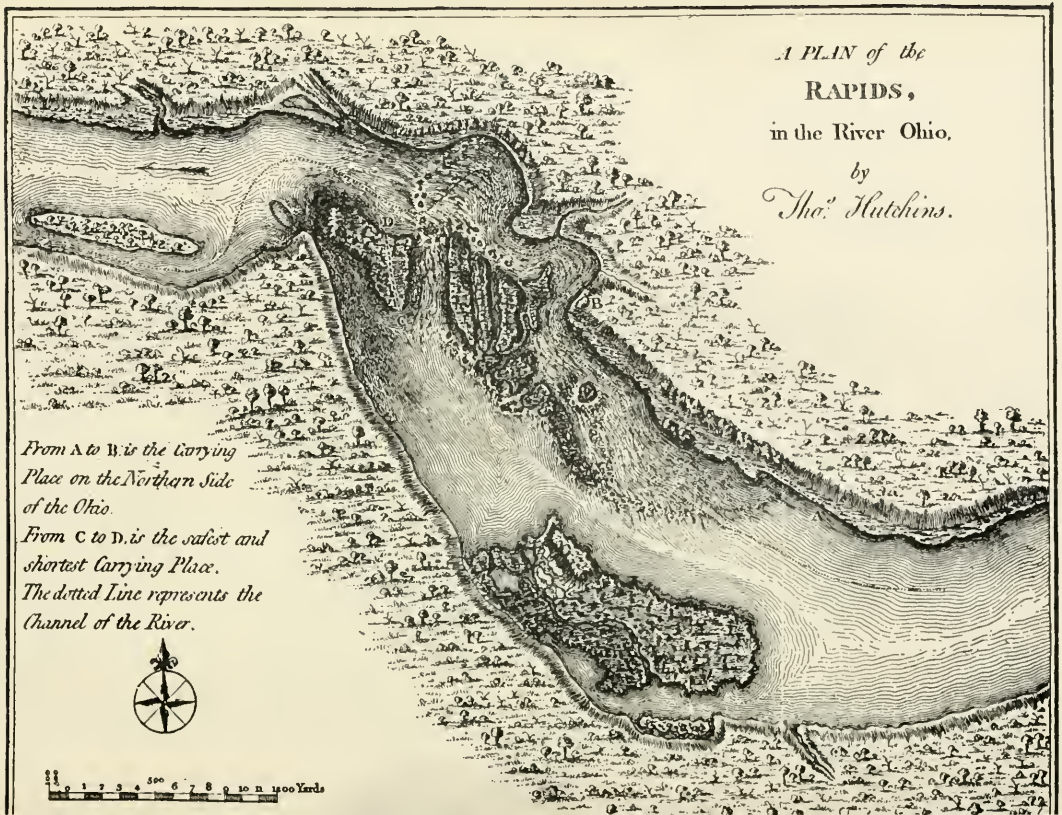
" in the ſpring, riſes in vaſt floods, in " ſome places, exceeding 20 feet in " height, but *ſcarce any where* overflow- " ing its *high and upright banks.* Theſe " floods, Mr. *Evans* adds, continue of " ſome height for at leaſt a month or " two, according to the late or early break- " ing up of the winter.---Veſſels from " 100 to 200 tons burthen, by taking " the advantage of theſe floods, may go " from Pittſburg *to the Sea* with *ſafety*, as " then the Falls, Rifts, and Shoals are " covered to an equality with the reſt of " the River;---and tho' the diſtance is up- wards of 2000 miles from *Fort Pitt* to [8] the ſea, yet as there are no obſtructions, to prevent veſſels from proceeding both day and night,---I am perſuaded, that this extraordinary Inland Voyage may be performed, during the ſeaſon of the floods, by rowing, in ſixteen or ſeven- teen days.

The Navigation of the *Ohio* in a dry ſeaſon, is rather troubleſome *from Fort Pitt to the Mingo town*, (about ſeventy-five miles) but from *thence to the Miſſiſippi*, there is always a ſufficient depth of water

for barges, carrying from 100 to 200 tons burthen, built in the manner as thoſe are which are uſed on the River *Thames*, between *London* and *Oxford*;---to wit, from 100 to 120 feet in the keel, ſixteen to eighteen feet in breadth, and four feet in depth, and when loaded, drawing about three feet water.

The *Rapids*, in a *dry* ſeaſon, are difficult to deſcend with *loaded* boats or barges, without a good Pilot;---it would be adviſeable therefore for the Bargemen, in ſuch ſeaſon, rather than run any riſk in paſſing [9] them to unload part of their cargoes, and reſhip it *when the barges have got through the Rapids*. It may, however, be proper to obſerve, that loaded boats *in freſhes*, have been eaſily rowed *againſt* the ſtream, *(up the Rapids)* and that others, by means, only, of a large ſail, have aſcended them.

In a *dry* ſeaſon, the deſcent of the Rapids, in the diſtance of a mile, is about 12, or 15 feet, and the paſſage *down*, would not be difficult, except, perhaps, for the following reaſons. Two miles above them, the River is deep, and three quarters of a mile broad;—but the *channel* is


A PLAN of the
RAPIDS,
in the River Ohio,
by
Thos. Hutchins.
From A to B is the Carrying Place on the Northern Side of the Ohio.
From C to D. is the safest and shortest Carrying Place.
The dotted Line represents the Channel of the River.
A
B
C
D
0 1 2 3 4 500 6 7 8 9 10 11 1500 Yards

much contracted, and does not exceed 250 yards in breadth; (near three-fourths of the bed of the River, on the ſouth-eaſtern ſide of it—being filled with a flat Limeſtone rock, ſo that in a dry ſeaſon, there is ſeldom more than 6 or 8 inches water) it is upon the northern ſide of the River, and being confined, as abovementioned; the deſcending waters tumble over the *Rapids* with a conſiderable degree of celerity and force. The channel is of different depths, but no where, I think, leſs than 5 feet;—It is clear, and upon [10] each ſide of it are large broken rocks, a few inches under water*. The *Rapids* are nearly in Latitude 38° 8′;—and the only Indian village (in 1766) on the banks of the *Ohio* River between them and *Fort*

* Colonel GORDON, in his Journal *down* the Ohio mentions, " that theſe Falls do not deſerve that Name, as the " Stream on the north ſide has no ſudden pitch, but only " runs rapid over the ledge of a flat rock;—ſeveral boats, he " ſays, paſſed it in the *dryeſt ſeaſon of the year*; unloading " one third of their freight. They paſſed on the north ſide, " where the carrying-place is three quarters of a mile long. " On the ſouth-eaſt ſide, it is about half that diſtance, and is " reckoned the ſafeſt paſſage for thoſe, who are unacquainted " with it, but it is the moſt tedious, as during part of the ſum- " mer, and Fall, the Battoemen drag their boats over the

Pitt, was on the north-weſt ſide, 75 miles below *Pittſburgh*, called the *Mingo* town; it contained 60 families.

Moſt of the Hills on both ſides of the *Ohio* are filled with excellent coal, and a coal [11] mine was in the year 1760 opened oppoſite to *Fort Pitt* on the River *Monongahela*, for the uſe of that Garriſon. *Salt Springs*, as well as *Iron Ore*, and rich *Lead Mines*, are found bordering upon the River *Ohio*. One of the latter, is opened on a branch of the *Sioto* River, and there, the *Indian* natives ſupply themſelves with a conſiderable part of the lead, which they uſe in their wars, and hunting.

About 584 miles below *Fort Pitt*, and on the eaſtern ſide of the *Ohio* River, about three miles from it, at the head of a ſmall Creek or Run, where are ſeveral large and miry Salt Springs, are found numbers of large bones, teeth and tuſks, commonly ſuppoſed to be thoſe of Ele-

" flat rock. The Fall is about half a mile rapid water, which " however is paſſable, by wading and dragging the boat " againſt the ſtream, *when loweſt*, and with ſtill greater " eaſe, when the water is raiſed a little."—

See the annexed Plan. It is a *correct* Deſcription of theſe Rapids, made by the Editor, on the ſpot in the year 1766.

phants: —but the celebrated Doctor *Hunter* of London, in his ingenious and curious Obfervations on thefe bones, &c. has fuppofed them to belong to fome Carnivorous animal, larger than an ordinary Elephant *.

On the North-Weftern fide of *Ohio*, about 11 miles below the *Cherokee* River, on a high bank, are the remains of *Fort* [12] *Maffac*, built by the *French*, and intended as a check to the Southern Indians. It was deftroyed by them in the year 1763. This is a high, healthy and delightful fituation. A great variety of Game; ——*Buffaloe*, *Bear*, *Deer*, &c. as well as *Ducks*, *Geefe*, *Swans*, *Turkies*, *Pheafants*, *Partridges*, &c. abounds in every part of this country.

The *Ohio*, and the Rivers emptying into it, afford green, and other Turtle, and fifh of various forts; —particularly *Carp*, *Sturgeon*, *Perch*, and *Cats*; the two latter of an uncommon fize, viz. Perch, from 8 to 12 pounds weight, and *Cats* from 50 to 100 pounds weight.

* *See Philofophical Tranfactions*, 1768.

The lands upon the *Ohio*, and its branches, are differently timbered according to their quality and ſituation. The high, and dry lands, are covered with *Red*, *White and Black Oak*, *Hickory*, *Walnut*, *Red and White Mulberry* and *Aſh Trees*,---*Grape Vines*, &c. The low and meadow lands are filled with *Sycamore*, *Poplar*, *Red* and *White Mulberry*, *Cherry*, *Beech*, *Elm*, *Aſpen*, *Maple*, or *Sugar Trees*, *Grape Vines*, &c. And below, or ſouthwardly of the *Rapids*, are ſeveral large [13] *Cedar* and *Cypreſs Swamps*, where the Cedar and Cypreſs trees grow to a remarkable ſize, and where alſo is a great abundance of Canes, ſuch as grow in *South Carolina*. The country on both ſides of of the *Ohio*, extending South-eaſterly, and South-weſterly from *Fort Pitt* to the *Miſſiſippi*, and watered by the *Ohio* River, and its branches, contains at leaſt *a million of ſquare miles*, and it may, with truth, be affirmed, that no part of the globe is bleſſed with a more healthful air, or climate;---* watered with more naviga-

* Colonel GORDON, in his *Journal*, gives the following Deſcription of the ſoil and climate. " The country on the

ble rivers and branches communicating [14] with the *Atlantick Ocean*, by the rivers *Potowmack*, *James*, *Rappahannock*, *Miſſiſippi*, and *St. Lawrence*, or capable of producing with leſs labour and expence, *Wheat*, *Indian Corn*, *Buck-wheat*, *Rye*, *Oats*, *Barley*, *Flax*, *Hemp*, *Tobacco*, *Rice*, *Silk*, *Pot-aſh*, &c. than the country under conſideration. And although there are conſiderable quantities of high lands for about 250 miles (on both ſides of the river *Ohio*) *ſouthwardly* from *Fort Pitt*, yet even the ſummits of moſt of the Hills are covered with a deep rich ſoil, fit for the culture of Flax and Hemp, and it may alſo be added, that no ſoil can poſ-

" Ohio, &c. is every where pleaſant, with large level ſpots of
" rich land, remarkably healthy.—One general remark of
" this nature may ſerve for the whole tract of the Globe,
" comprehended between the Weſtern ſkirts of the Alle-
" gheny mountains, beginning at Fort LEGONIER, thence
" bearing South-weſterly to the diſtance of 500 miles oppo-
" ſite to the Ohio Falls, then croſſing them Northerly to the
" heads of the Rivers, that empty themſelves into the OHIO;
" thence Eaſt along the ridge, that ſeparates the Lakes and
" OHIO's Streams to FRENCH CREEK, which is oppoſite to
" the above-mentioned Fort LEGONIER, Northerly.—This

ſibly yield larger crops of red and white Clover, and other uſeful graſs, than this does.

On the *North-weſt* and *South-eaſt* ſides of the *Ohio*, below the *Great Kanhawa* River, at a little diſtance from it, are extenſive natural meadows, or Savannahs. Theſe [15] meadows are from 20 to 50 miles in circuit. They have many beautiful groves of trees interſperſed, as if by art in them, and which ſerve as a ſhelter for the innumerable herds of Buffaloe, Deer, &c. with which they abound *.

" country may, from a proper knowledge, be affirmed to be " the moſt healthy, the moſt pleaſant, the moſt commodious, " and moſt fertile ſpot on earth, known to EUROPEAN people."

* I am obliged to a worthy Friend, and Countryman, for the following juſt, and judicious obſervations. They were addreſſed to the Earl of Hillſborough, in the year 1770,—When Secretary of State for the North-American department.

" No part of North-America, he ſays, will require leſs " encouragement for the production of naval ſtores, and raw " materials for manufactories in Europe; and for ſupplying " the Weſt-India iſlands with *Lumber*, *Proviſions*, &c. than " the country of the Ohio;—and for the following reaſons:

[16] Having made theſe Obſervations,—I proceed to give a brief Account of the ſeveral Rivers and Creeks which fall into the River *Ohio*.

" Firſt, The lands are excellent, the climate temperate, " the native grapes, ſilk-worms, and mulberry trees, abound " every where: hemp, hops, and rye, grow ſpontaneouſly in " the valleys and low lands, lead, and iron ore are plenty in " the hills, ſalt Springs are innumerable; and no Soil is bet- " ter adapted to the culture of Tobacco, Flax and Cotton, " than that of the Ohio.

" Second, The country is well watered by ſeveral navi- " gable Rivers, communicating with each other; by which, " and a ſhort land carriage, the produce of the Lands of the " Ohio can, even now, (in the year 1772) " be ſent cheaper " to the Sea-port Town of Alexandria, on the River Poto- " mack in Virginia (where General Braddock's Tranſports " landed his troops) than any kind of Merchandiſe, is ſent " from Northampton to London.

" Third, The River Ohio is, at *all ſeaſons* of the year, " navigable with large Boats, like the *Weſt Country Barges*, " rowed only by four or five men; and from the month of " February to April large Ships may be built on the Ohio, " and ſent to *Sea* laden with Hemp, Iron, Flax, Silk, Tobacco, " Cotton, Pot-aſh, &c.

" Fourth, Flour, Corn, Beef, Ship-Plank, and other uſe- " ful articles, can be ſent *down the Stream of Ohio* to Weſt-

[17] *Canawagy*, when raiſed by freſhes, is paſſable with ſmall Battoes, to a little Lake

" Florida, and from thence to the Weſt-India iſlands, much " cheaper, and in better order, than from New York or Phil- " adelphia, to theſe iſlands.

" Fifth, Hemp, Tobacco, Iron, and ſuch bulky articles " may alſo be ſent *down* the ſtream of the Ohio to the Sea, " at leaſt 50 per cent. *cheaper* than theſe articles were ever " carried by a Land Carriage, of only 60 miles in Pennſyl- " vania ;—where waggonage is cheaper, than in any other " part of North-America.

" Sixth, The Expence of tranſporting European Manu- " factories from the Sea to the Ohio, will not be ſo much, as " is now paid, and muſt ever be paid, to a great part of the " Counties of *Pennſylvania, Virginia, and Maryland.* " Whenever the *Farmers,* or Merchants of *Ohio,* ſhall prop- " erly underſtand the buſineſs of tranſportation, they will " build Schooners, Sloops, &c. on the Ohio, ſuitable for the " Weſt-India, or European Markets ; or, by having Black- " Walnut, Cherry-tree, Oak, &c. properly ſawed for foreign " Markets, and formed into Rafts, in the manner, that is now " done by the Settlers near the upper parts of Delaware " River in Pennſylvania, and thereon ſtow their Hemp, Iron, " Tobacco, &c. and proceed with them to New Orleans.

" It may not, perhaps, be amiſs, to obſerve, that large " quantities of Flour are made in the diſtant *(weſtern)* Coun- " ties of Pennſylvania, and ſent by an expenſive Land Car-

at its [18] head;—from thence there is a portage of 20 miles to Lake *Erie*, at the mouth of *Judághque*. This portage is ſeldom uſed, becauſe *Canawagy* has ſcarcely any water in it in a dry ſeaſon.

Bughaloons, is not navigable; but is remarkable for extenſive meadows bordering upon it.

[19] *French Creek* affords the neareſt paſ-

" riage to the City of Philadelphia, and from thence ſhipped " to South Carolina, and to Eaſt and Weſt Florida, there " being little, or no Wheat raiſed in theſe Provinces. The " *River Ohio* ſeems kindly deſigned by nature, as the Chan- " nel through which the two *Floridas* may be ſupplied with " Flour, not only for their own Conſumption, but alſo for the " carrying on an extenſive Commerce with Jamaica and the " Spaniſh Settlements in the Bay of Mexico. Millſtones in " abundance are to be obtained in the Hills near the Ohio, " and the country is every where well watered with large, and " conſtant Springs and Streams, for Griſt, and other Mills.

" The paſſage from Philadelphia to Pennſacola, is ſeldom " made in leſs than a Month, and ſixty ſhilings ſterling per " *ton*, freight (conſiſting of ſixteen barrels) is uſually paid " for Flour, &c. thither. Boats carrying 800, or 1000 barrels " of Flour, may go in about the ſame time from the Ohio, " (even from *Pittſburgh*) as from Philadelphia to Pennſa- " cola, and for half the above freight, the Ohio Merchants

ſage to Lake *Erie*. It is navigable with ſmall boats to *Le Beuf*, by a very crooked Channel; the portage thence to *Preſquile*, from an adjoining Peninſula, is 15 miles. This is the uſual Route from Quebec to *Ohio*.

Licking and *Lacomic* Creeks do not afford any Navigation; but there is plenty of coals, and ſtones for building in the Hills, which adjoin them.

Toby's Creek is deep enough for Batteaus for a conſiderable way up, thence by a ſhort portage to the *Weſt* branch of *Suſquehannah*, a good communication is carried on between *Ohio* and the *eaſtern* parts of Pennſylvania.

Moghulbughkitum, is paſſable alſo by flat bottom boats in the ſame manner as *Toby*'s

" would be able to deliver Flour, &c. there, in much better " order, than from Philadelphia, and without incurring the " damage and delay of the ſea, and charges of inſurance, &c. " as from thence to Pennſacola.

" This is not meer Speculation; for it is a fact, that about " the year 1746 there was a great ſcarcity of proviſions at " New Orleans, and the French Settlements, at the Illinois, " ſmall as they then were, ſent thither in one winter, upwards " of eight hundred thouſand weight of Flour."

Creek is to *Sufquehanna*, and from thence to all the Settlements in Northumberland county, &c. in Pennfylvania.

Kifhkeminetas, is navigable in like manner as the preceding Creeks, for between 40 and 50 miles, and good portages are found between *Kifhkeminetas*, *Juniatta*, and *Potomac* Rivers.—Coal and Salt are difcovered in the neighbourhood of thefe Rivers.

[20] *Monongahela* is a large River, and at its junction with the *Allegheny* River ftands *Fort Pitt*. It is deep, and gentle, and navigable with Battoes and Barges, beyond *Red Stone* Creek, and ftill farther with lighter craft. At fixteen miles from its mouth, is *Youghiogeny*; This River is navigable with Batteaux or Barges to the foot of *Laurel Hill*.

Beaver Creek has water fufficient for flat bottom boats. At *Kifhkufkes* (about 16 miles up) are two branches of this Creek, which fpread oppofite ways; one interlocks with *French* Creek and *Cherâge*,—the other with *Muſkingum* and *Cayahoga*; on this branch, about thirty-five miles above the Forks, are many *Salt-Springs*.—*Cayahoga*

is practicable with Canoes about twenty miles farther.

Muſkingum is a fine gentle River, confined by high banks, which prevent its floods from overflowing the ſurrounding Land. It is 250 yards wide at its confluence with the *Ohio*, and navigable, without any obſtructions, by large Battoes or Barges, to the three *Legs*'s, and by ſmall ones to a little Lake at its head.

[21] From thence to *Cayahoga*, (the Creek that leads to Lake *Eric*) The *Muſkingum* is muddy, and not very ſwift, but no where obſtructed with Falls or Rifts. *Here* are fine Uplands, extenſive meadows, oak and mulberry trees fit for Ship building, and *Walnut*, *Cheſnut*, and *Poplar* trees ſuitable for domeſtic ſervices.---*Cayahoga* furniſhes the beſt portage between *Ohio* and Lake *Eric*; at its mouth it is wide and deep enough to receive large Sloops from the Lake. It will hereafter be a place of great importance.

Muſkingum in all its wide-extended branches, is ſurrounded by moſt excellent land, and abounds in Springs, and conveniences particularly adapted to ſettlements

remote from *Sea* Navigation;---ſuch as *Salt Springs, Coal, Clay and Free Stone.*— In 1748 a Coal mine oppoſite to *Lamenſhicola* mouth took fire, and continued burning above twelve months, but great quantities of coal ſtill remain in it. Near the ſame place are excellent *Whetſtones*, and about 8 miles higher up the River, is plenty of *White and Blue Clay* for *Glaſs works and Pottery.*

[22] *Hockhocking* is navigable with large flat bottom boats between ſeventy and eighty miles; it has fine meadows with high banks, which ſeldom overflow, and rich Uplands on its borders. *Coal*, and quarries of *Freeſtone* are found about 15 miles up this Creek.

Big Kanhawa falls into the *Ohio* upon its ſouth-eaſtern ſide, and is ſo conſiderable a branch of this River, that it may be miſtaken for the Ohio itſelf by perſons aſcending it. It is ſlow for ten miles, to *little broken Hills*,--the low land is very rich, and of about the ſame breadth (from the *Pipe Hills* to the *Falls*) as upon the Ohio. After going 10 miles up *Kanhawa* the land is hilly, and the water a little rapid for 50

or 60 miles further to the *Falls*, yet Batteaus or Barges may be eaſily rowed thither. Theſe Falls were formerly thought *impaſſable*; but late diſcoveries have proved, that a waggon road may be made through the mountain, which occaſions the *Falls*, and that by a portage of a few miles only, a communication may be had between the waters of *Great Kanhawa* and *Ohio*, and thoſe of *James River in Virginia*.

[23] *Tottery* lies upon the ſouth-eaſtern ſide of the Ohio, and is navigable with Batteaux to the *Ouaſioto* mountains. It is a long River, has few branches, and interlocks with *Red* Creek, or *Clinche*'s River (a branch of the *Cuttawa*).--And has below the mountains, eſpecially for 15 miles from its mouth, very good land. Here is a perceptible difference of Climate between the upper and this part of Ohio. Here the *large Reed* or *Carolina Cane* grows in plenty, even upon the Upland, and the winter is ſo moderate as not to deſtroy it. The ſame moderation of climate continues down *Ohio*, eſpecially on the ſouth-eaſt ſide to the *Rapids*, and thence on both ſides of that River to the *Miſſiſippi*.

Great Salt Lick Creek, is remarkable for fine land, plenty of *Buffaloes*, *Salt Springs*, *White Clay*, and *Lime Stone*. Small Boats may go to the croſſing of the war Path without any impediment. The Salt Springs render the waters unfit for drinking, but the plenty of freſh ſprings in their vicinity, make ſufficient amends for this inconvenience.

Kentucke is larger than the preceding Creek; it is ſurrounded with high clay [24] banks, fertile lands, and large ſalt Springs. Its Navigation is interrupted by ſhoals, but paſſable with ſmall boats to the *gap*, where the *war path* goes through the *Ouaſioto mountains*.

Sioto, is a large gentle River bordered with rich Flats, or Meadows. It overflows in the ſpring, and then ſpreads about half a mile, tho' when confined within its banks it is ſcarce a furlong wide.

If it floods early, it ſeldom retires within its banks in leſs than a month, and is not fordable frequently in leſs than two months.

The *Sioto*, beſides having a great extent of moſt excellent land on both ſides of the River, is furniſhed with *Salt*, on an eaſtern

branch, and *Red Bole* on *Neeunſia Skeintat.* The Stream of *Sioto* is gentle and paſſable with *large Battoes or Barges* for a conſiderable way, and with ſmaller boats, near 200 miles to a portage, of only four miles to *Sanduſky.*

Sanduſky is a conſiderable River abounding in level land, its Stream gentle all the way to the mouth, where it is large enough to receive *Sloops.* The *Northern Indians* croſs [25] Lake *Erie* here from Iſland to Iſland, land at *Sanduſky,* and go by a direct path to the lower *Shawanoe* town, and thence to the *gap of the Ouaſioto Mountain,* in their way to the *Cuttawa* country.

Little Mineami River is too ſmall to navigate with Batteaux. It has much fine land and ſeveral Salt Springs; its high banks and gentle current prevent its much overflowing the ſurrounding lands in freſhes.

Great Mineami, Aſſereniet or Rocky River, has a very ſtony Channel; a ſwift Stream, but no Falls. It has ſeveral large branches, paſſable with boats a great way; one extending weſtward towards the *Quiaghtena* River, another towards a branch of *Mineami* River (which runs into Lake

Eric) to which there is a portage, and a third has a portage to the weſt branch of *Sanduſky*, beſides *Mad Creek* where the *French* formerly eſtabliſhed themſelves. Riſing ground, here and there a little ſtony, which begins in the northern part of the Peninſula, between the Lakes *Eric*, *Huron and Michigan* and extend acroſs little *Mineami* River below the *Forks*, and ſouthwardly along the Rocky River, to Ohio.

[26] *Buffaloe River* falls into the *Ohio* on the eaſtern ſide of it, at the diſtance of 925 computed miles from *Fort Pitt*. It is a very conſiderable branch of the Ohio; is 200 yards wide, navigable upwards of 150 miles for Battoes or Barges, of 30 feet long, 5 feet broad, and 3 feet deep, carrying about 7 tons, and can be navigated much farther, with large canoes. The Stream is moderate. The Lands on both ſides of this River are of a moſt luxuriant quality, for the production of *Hemp*, *Flax*, *Wheat*, *Tobacco*, *&c.* They are covered with a great variety of lofty, and uſeful timber; as *Oak*, *Hickory*, *Mulberry*, *Elm*, *&c.* Several perſons who have aſcended this River, ſay, that *Salt Springs*, *Coal*, *Lime and Free*

Stone, &c. are to be found in a variety of places.

The *Wabash*, is a beautiful River, with high and upright banks, less subject to overflow, than any other River *(the Ohio excepted)* in this part of *America*. It discharges itself into the *Ohio*, one thousand and twenty two miles *below Fort Pitt*, in latitude 37° 41′.—at its mouth, it is 270 yards wide; Is navigable to *Ouiatanon* [27] (412 miles) in the Spring, Summer, and Autumn, with Battoes or Barges, drawing about three feet water. From thence, on account of a rocky bottom, and shoal water, large canoes are chiefly employed, except when the River is swelled with Rains, at which time, it may be ascended with boats, such as I have just described, (197 miles further) to the *Miami* carrying-place, which is nine miles from the *Miami* village, and this is situated on a River of the same name, that runs into the south-south-west part of Lake *Erie*.--The Stream of the *Wabash*, is generally gentle to Fort *Ouiatanon*, and no where obstructed with Falls, but is by several *Rapids*, both above and below that Fort, some of which are

pretty conſiderable. There is alſo a part of the River for about three miles, and 30 miles from the *carrying-place*, where the Channel is ſo narrow, that it is neceſſary to make uſe of ſetting poles, inſtead of oars. The land on this River is remarkably fertile, and ſeveral parts of it are natural meadows, of great extent, covered with fine long graſs.—The timber is large, and high, and in ſuch variety, that almoſt all the dif-
[28] ferent kinds growing upon the *Ohio*, and its branches (but with a greater proportion of black and white mulberry-trees) may be found here.---A ſilver mine has been diſcovered about 28 miles above *Ouiatanon*, on the northern ſide of the *Wabaſh*, and probably others may be found hereafter. The *Wabaſh* abounds with Salt Springs, and any quantity of ſalt may be made from them, in the manner now done at the *Saline* in the *Illinois* country:---the hills are repleniſhed with the beſt coal, and there is plenty of *Lime* and *Free Stone*, *Blue*, *Yellow and White Clay*, *for Glaſs Works and Pottery*. Two *French* ſettlements are eſtabliſhed on the *Wabaſh*, called *Poſt Vincient* and *Ouiatanon*; the firſt is 150 miles, and

the other 262 miles from its mouth. The former is on the eaſtern ſide of the River, and conſiſts of 60 ſettlers and their families. They raiſe Indian Corn,---Wheat; and Tobacco of an extraordinary good quality;---ſuperior, it is ſaid, to that produced in *Virginia*. They have a fine breed of horſes (brought originally by the *Indians* from the *Spaniſh* ſettlements on the weſtern ſide of the River *Miſſiſippi*) and large [29] ſtocks of Swine, and Black Cattle. The ſettlers deal with the natives for Furrs and Deer ſkins, to the amount of about 5000 l. annually. Hemp of good texture grows ſpontaneouſly in the low lands of the *Waboſh*, as do Grapes in the greateſt abundance, having a black, *thin* ſkin, and of which the inhabitants in the Autumn, make a ſufficient quantity (for their own conſumption) of *well-taſted Red-Wine*. Hops large and good, are found in many places, and the lands are particularly adapted to the culture of Rice. All European fruits;---Apples, Peaches, Pears, Cherrys, Currents, Gooſberrys, Melons, &c. thrive well, both here, and in the country bordering on the River *Ohio*.

Ouiatanon is a ſmall ſtockaded fort on the weſtern ſide of the *Wabaſh*, in which about a dozen families reſide. The neighbouring Indians are the *Kickapoos*, *Muſquitons*, *Pyankiſhaws*, *and a principal part of the Ouiatanons*. The whole of theſe tribes conſiſts, it is ſuppoſed, of about one thouſand warriors. The fertility of ſoil, and diverſity of timber in this country, are the ſame as in the vicinity of *Poſt Vincent*. [30] The annual amount of Skins and Furrs, obtained at *Ouiatanon* is about 8000 l. By the River *Wabaſh*, the inhabitants of *Detroit* move to the ſouthern parts of *Ohio*, and the *Illinois* country. Their rout is by the *Miami River* to a carrying-place, which, as before ſtated, is nine miles to the *Wabaſh*, when this River is raiſed with Freſhes; but at other ſeaſons, the diſtance is from 18 to 30 miles including the portage. The whole of the latter is through a level country. Carts are uſually employed in tranſporting boats and merchandiſe, from the *Miami* to the *Wabaſh* River.

The Shawanoe River empties itſelf on the eaſtern ſide of *Ohio*, about 95 miles ſouthwardly of the *Wabaſh* River. It is 250

yards wide at its mouth, has been navigated 180 miles in Battoes of the conſtruction of thoſe mentioned in the preceeding article, and from the depth of water, at that diſtance from its mouth, it is preſumed, it may be navigated much further. The ſoil and timber of the lands, upon this River, are exactly the ſame as thoſe upon *Buffaloe* River.

[31] *The Cherokee River* diſcharges itſelf into the *Ohio* on the ſame ſide, that the *Shawanoe* River does, that is,---13 miles below or ſoutherly of it, and 11 miles above, or northerly of the place where *Fort Maſſac* formerly ſtood, and 57 miles from the confluence of the *Ohio* with the River *Miſſiſippi*.---The *Cherokee* River has been navigated 900 miles from its mouth. At the diſtance of 220 miles from thence, it widens from 400 yards (its general width) to between two and three miles, and continues this breadth for near thirty miles farther. The whole of this diſtance, is called *the Muſcle Shoals*. Here the Channel is obſtructed with a number of Iſlands, formed by trees and drifted wood, brought hither, at different ſeaſons of the year, in freſhes and

floods. In paſſing theſe iſlands, the middle of the wideſt intermediate water, is to be navigated, as there it is deepeſt. From the mouth of the *Cherokee* River to *Muſcle Shoals* the current is moderate, and both the high and low lands are rich, and abundantly covered with Oaks, Walnut, Sugar-trees, Hickory, &c.—About 200 miles above theſe ſhoals, is, what is called, the [32] *Whirl*, or *Suck*, occaſioned, I imagine, by the high mountain, which there confines the River (ſuppoſed to be the *Laurel* mountain.) The *Whirl*, or *Suck* continues rapid for about three miles. Its width about 50 yards. Aſcending the *Cherokee* River, and at about 100 miles from the *Suck*, and upon the ſouth eaſtern ſide of that River, is *Highwaſſee River*. Vaſt tracts of level and rich land border on this River; but at a ſmall diſtance from it, the country is much broken, and ſome parts of it produce only *Pine Trees*. Forty miles higher up the *Cherokee* River on the north weſtern ſide, is *Cluche's River*. It is 150 yards wide, and about 50 miles up it ſeveral families are ſettled. From *Cluche's* to *Teneſſee* River is 100 miles. It comes in on

the eaſtern ſide, and is 250 yards wide. About 10 miles up this River, is a *Cherokee* town, called *Chota*, and further up this branch, are ſeveral other *Indian* towns, poſſeſſed by Indians, called, *the over hill Cherokees*. The navigation of this branch, is much interrupted by rocks, as is alſo the River, called, *French Broad*, which comes into the *Cherokee* River 50 miles above the [33] *Teneſee*, and on the ſame ſide. 150 miles above *French Broad* is *Long Iſland* (three miles in length) and from thence to the ſource of the *Cherokee* River is 60 miles, and the whole diſtance is ſo rocky, as to be ſcarcely navigable with a canoe.

By the *Cherokee River*, the emigrants from the frontier counties of *Virginia*, and *North Carolina*, paſs to the ſettlements in *Weſt Florida*, upon the River *Miſſiſippi*. They embark at *Long Iſland*.

I now proceed to give a Deſcription of that part of my Map called the *Illinois country*, lying between the *Miſſiſippi* weſterly, the *Illinois River* northerly, the *Wabaſh* eaſterly, and the *Ohio* ſoutherly.

The land at the confluence, or *Fork* of the Rivers *Miſſiſippi* and *Ohio*, is above 20

feet higher than the common ſurface of these Rivers; yet ſo conſiderable are the *Spring* floods, that it is generally overflowed for about a week, as are the lands for ſeveral miles back in the country.—The ſoil at the *Fork* is compoſed of Mud, Earth and Sand, accumulated from the *Ohio* and *Miſſiſippi* Rivers. It is exceedingly fertile, and in its na- [34] tural ſtate, yields *Hemp*, *Pea-Vines*, *Graſs*, *&c.* and a great variety of trees, and in particular, the *Aſpen Tree* of an unuſual height and thickneſs.

For 25 miles up the *Miſſiſippi* (from the *Ohio*) the country is rich, level and well timbered;—and then ſeveral gentle riſing grounds appear, which gradually diminiſh at the diſtance of between four and five miles eaſtward from the River. From thence to the *Kaſkaſkias* River is 65 miles. The country is a mixture of hills and vallies; ſome of the former are rocky and ſteep;—but they, as well as the vallies, are ſhaded with fine Oaks, Hickory, Walnut, Aſh, and Mulberry trees, &c. Some of the high grounds afford moſt pleaſant ſituations for ſettlements. Their elevated, and airy poſitions, together with

the great luxuriance of the Soil, every where yielding plenty of Graſs, and uſeful plants, promiſe health, and ample returns to induſtrious ſettlers.

Many quarries of *Lime*, *Free ſtone* and *Marble* have been diſcovered in this part of the country.

[35] Several Creeks, and Rivers fall into the *Miſſiſippi*, in the above diſtance (of 65 miles) but no remarkable ones, except the Rivers *a Vaſe* and *Kaſkaſkias*;—the former is navigable for Battoes about 60, and the latter for about 130 miles;—both theſe Rivers run through a rich country, abounding in extenſive, natural meadows, and numberleſs herds of Buffaloe, Deer, &c.

The high grounds, juſt mentioned, continue along the eaſtern ſide of the *Kaſkaſkias* River at a ſmall diſtance from it, for the ſpace of five miles and a half, to the *Kaſkaſkias* village; then they incline more towards that River, and run nearly parallel with the eaſtern bank of the *Miſſiſippi*, at the diſtance of about three miles in ſome parts, and four miles in other parts from it. Theſe principally com-

poſed of Lime and Free Stone, and are from 100 to 130 feet high, divided in ſeveral places by deep cavities, through which many ſmall rivulets paſs before they fall into the *Miſſiſippi*. The ſides of theſe hills, fronting this River, are in many places perpendicular,—and appear like ſo-
[36] lid pieces of Stone Maſonry, of various colours, figures and ſizes.

The low land between the Hills and the *Miſſiſippi*, begins on the north ſide of the *Kaſkaſkias* River, and continues for three miles above the River *Miſouri*, where a high ridge terminates it, and forms the eaſtern bank of the *Miſſiſippi*.—This interval land is level, has few trees, and is of a very rich ſoil, yielding ſhrubs and moſt fragrant flowers, which added to the number and extent of meadows and ponds diſperſed thro' this charming valley, render it exceedingly beautiful and agreeable.

In this vale ſtand the following villages, viz. *Kaſkaſkias*, which, as already mentioned, is five miles and a half up a River of the ſame name, running northerly and ſoutherly.—This village contains 80 houſes, many of them well built; ſeveral of ſtone,

with gardens, and large lotts adjoining. It conſiſts of about 500 white inhabitants, and between four and five hundred negroes. The former have large ſtocks of black Cattle, Swine, &c.

[37] Three miles northerly of *Kaſkaſkias*, is a village of *Illinois Indians* (of the *Kaſkaſkias* tribe) containing about 210 perſons and 60 warriors. They were formerly brave and warlike, but are degenerated into a drunken, and debauched tribe, and ſo indolent, as ſcarcely to procure a ſufficiency of Skins and Furs to barter for cloathing.

Nine miles further northward, than the laſt mentioned village, is another, called *La prairie du Rocher*, or (the *Rock meadows.*) It conſiſts of 100 white inhabitants, and 80 negroes.

Three miles northerly of this place, on the banks of the *Miſſiſippi* ſtood *Fort Chartres*. It was abandoned in the year 1772, as it was rendered untenable by the conſtant waſhings of the River *Miſſiſippi* in high floods.—The village of *Fort Chartres*, a little ſouthward of the Fort,—contained

ſo few inhabitants, as not to deſerve my notice.

One mile higher up the *Miſſiſippi* than *Fort Chartres*, is a village ſettled by 170 warriors of the *Piorias* and *Mitchigamias* [38] (two other tribes of the *Illinois Indians.*) They are as idle and debauched, as the tribe of *Kaſkaſkias*, which I have juſt deſcribed.

Four miles higher than the preceeding village, is *St. Philip*'s. It was formerly inhabited by about a dozen families, but at preſent, is poſſeſſed only by two or three.—The others have retired to the weſtern ſide of the *Miſſiſippi.*

Forty five miles further northwards, than *St. Philip*'s (and one mile up a ſmall River, on the ſouthern ſide of it) ſtands the village of *Cahokia.* It has 50 houſes, many of them well built, and 300 inhabitants, poſſeſſing 80 negroes, and large ſtocks of black Cattle, Swine, &c.

Four miles above *Cahokia*, on the weſtern, or *Spaniſh* ſide of the *Miſſiſippi*, ſtands the village of *St. Louis*, on a high piece of ground. It is the moſt healthy and pleaſurable ſituation of any known in this

part of the country. Here the *Spaniſh* Commandant, and the principal *Indian* Traders reſide; who by conciliating the affections of the natives, have drawn all [39] the *Indian* trade of the *Miſouri*;---part of that of the *Miſſiſippi* (northwards) and of the tribes of *Indians* reſiding near the *Ouiſconſing*, and *Illinois Rivers*, to this village. In *St. Louis* are 120 houſes, moſtly built of ſtone. They are large and commodious. This village has 800 inhabitants, chiefly *French*;—ſome of them have had a liberal education, are polite, and hoſpitable. They have about 150 negroes, and large ſtocks of black Cattle, &c.

Twelve miles below, or ſoutherly of *Fort Chartres*, on the *Weſtern* bank of the *Miſſiſippi*, and nearly oppoſite to the village of *Kaſkaſkias*, is the village *of St. Genevieve or Miſſire*. It contains upwards of 100 houſes, and 460 inhabitants, beſides Negroes. This and *St. Louis* are all the villages that are upon the weſtern, or *Spaniſh* ſide of the *Miſſiſippi*.

Four miles below *St. Genevieve* (on the weſtern bank of the *Miſſiſippi*) at the mouth of a Creek, is a *Hamlet*, called *the Saline*.

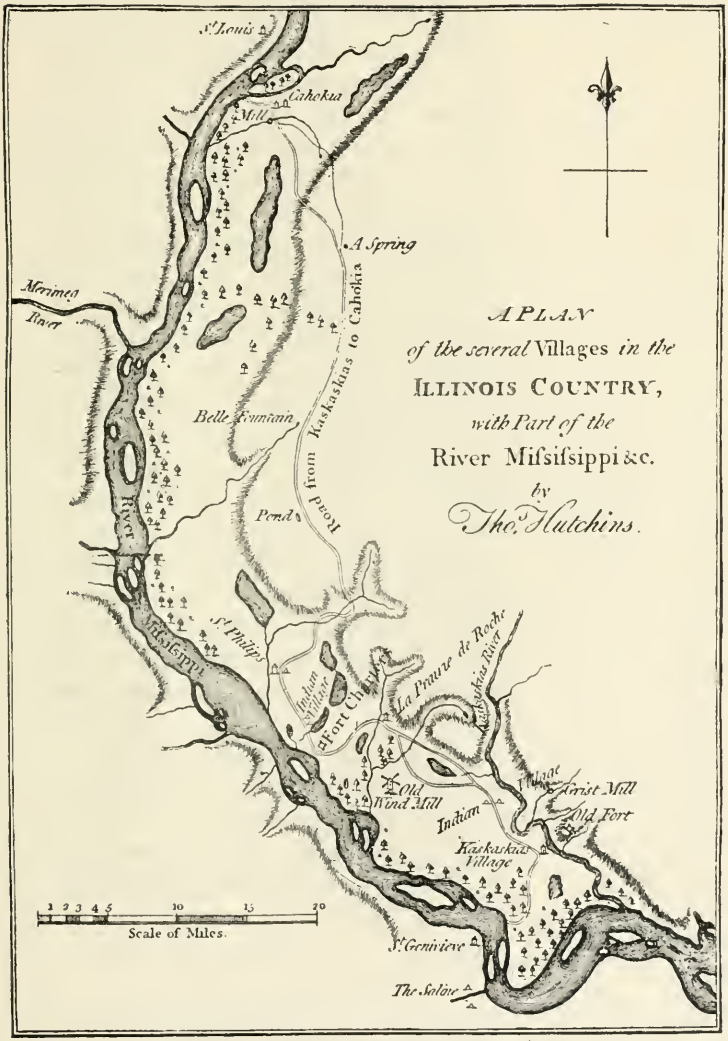
Here all the ſalt is made, which is uſed in the *Illinois* country, from a ſalt ſpring, [40] that is at this place*. The *Ridge* which forms the eaſtern bank of the *Miſſiſippi*, above the *Miſouri* River continues northerly to the *Illinois* River, and then directs its courſe along the eaſtern ſide of that River, for about 220 miles, when it declines in gentle ſlopes, and ends in extenſive rich ſavannahs. On the top of this *Ridge*, at the mouth of the *Illinois* River, is an agreeable and commanding ſituation, for a fort, and though the *Ridge* is high and ſteep (about 130 feet high) and rather difficult to aſcend;—yet when aſcended,—it affords

* In the ſeveral villages on, and near the *Miſſiſippi*, which I have juſt deſcribed, (*and which are delineated in the annexed plan*) there were in the year 1771, twelve hundred and ſeventy three fencible men. To wit.——

On the Eaſtern ſide of the *Miſſiſippi*,		
	French	300
	Negroes	230
On the Weſtern ſide of the *Miſſiſippi*,		
At St. Genevieve,	French	208
	Negroes	80
At St. Louis,	French	415
	Negroes	40
		1273

a moſt delightful proſpect.—The *Miſſiſippi* [41] is diſtinctly ſeen from its ſummit for more than twenty miles,—as are the beautiful meanderings of the *Illinois* River, for many leagues;—next a level, fruitful meadow preſents itſelf, of at leaſt one hundred miles in circuit on the weſtern ſide of the *Miſſiſippi*, watered by ſeveral lakes, and ſhaded by ſmall groves or copſes of trees, ſcattered in different parts of it, and then the eye, with rapture, ſurveys, as well the high lands bordering upon the River *Miſſouri*, as thoſe at a greater diſtance *up* the *Miſſiſippi*.—In fine, this charming ridge is covered with excellent Graſs, large Oak, Walnut trees, &c. and at the diſtance of about nine miles from the *Miſſiſippi*, up the *Illinois* River, are ſeen many large ſavannahs, or meadows abounding in Buffalo, Deer, &c.

In aſcending the *Miſſiſippi*, *Cape au Gres*, particularly attracted my attention.---It is about 8 leagues above the *Illinois* River, on the eaſtern ſide of the *Miſſiſippi*, and continues above five leagues on that River. There is a gradual deſcent back to delightful meadows, and to beautiful and fertile up-



London Published according to Act of Parliament Novemb.r 5.th 1778 by Tho.s Hutchins.

lands, water'd by ſeveral Rivulets, which fall [42] into the *Illinois* River between 30 and 40 miles from its entrance into the *Miſſiſippi*, and into the latter *at Cape au Gres*. The diſtance from the *Miſſiſippi* to the River *Illinois* acroſs the country, is leſſened or increaſed, according to the windings of the former River;—the ſmalleſt diſtance is *at Cape au Gres*, and there it is between four and five miles. The lands in this intermediate ſpace between the above two Rivers are rich, almoſt beyond parallel,—covered with large Oaks, Walnut, &c. and not a ſtone is to be ſeen, except upon the ſides of the River.—It is even acknowledged by the French inhabitants, that if ſettlements were only begun at *Cape au Gres*,—thoſe upon the *Spaniſh* ſide of the *Miſſiſippi* would be abandoned, as the former would excite a conſtant ſucceſſion of ſettlers, and intercept all the trade of the upper *Miſſiſippi*.

The *Illinois* River, furniſhes a communication with Lake *Michigan*, by the *Chicago* River, and by two portages between the latter and the *Illinois* River; the longeſt of which does not exceed four miles.

[43] The *Illinois* country is in general of a ſuperior ſoil to any other part of North America that I have ſeen. It produces fine Oak, Hickory, Cedar, Mulberry trees, &c. ſome *Dying* roots and medicinal Plants;--- Hops, and excellent wild Grapes, and, in the year 1769, one hundred and ten hogſheads of well taſted and ſtrong Wine, were made by the *French* Settlers, from theſe Grapes,-- A large quantity of Sugar is alſo annually made from the juice of the Maple tree; and as the Mulberry trees are large and numerous, I preſume the making of *Silk* will employ the attention and induſtry of the ſettlers, when the country is more fully inhabited than it is at preſent, and eſpecially as the winters are much more moderate, and favourable for the breed of Silk Worms, than they are in many of the ſea coaſt provinces.—*Indigo* may likewiſe be ſucceſsfully cultivated—(but not more than two cuttings in a year;) *Wheat*, *Peas*, and *Indian Corn* thrive well, as does every ſort of Grain and Pulſe, that is produced in any of the old Colonies. Great quantities of Tobacco are alſo yearly raiſed by the inhabitants of the *Illinois*, both for their own conſumption,

[44] and that of the Indians;—but little has hitherto been exported to *Europe*. *Hemp* grows ſpontaneouſly, and is of a good texture;---Its common height is 10 feet, and its thickneſs, three inches (the latter reckoned within about a foot of the root) and with little labour any quantity may be cultivated. *Flax Seed* has hitherto been only raiſed in ſmall quantities. There has however been enough produced to ſhew, that it may be ſown to the greateſt advantage. Apples, Pears, Peaches, and all other European fruits ſucceed admirably. Iron, Copper, and Lead Mines, as alſo Salt Springs have been diſcovered in different parts of this territory. The two latter are worked on the *Spaniſh* ſide of the *Miſſiſippi*, with conſiderable advantage to their owners. There is plenty of Fiſh in the Rivers, particularly Cat, Carp, and Perch, of an uncommon ſize.---*Savannahs*, or natural meadows, are both numerous and extenſive; yielding excellent Graſs, and feeding great herds of *Buffaloe*, *Deer*, *&c.*--Ducks, Teal, Geeſe, Swans, Cranes, Pelicans, Turkies, Pheaſants, Partridges, &c. [45] ſuch as are ſeen in the Sea coaſt Colo-

nies, are in the greateſt variety and abundance.---In ſhort, every thing, that a reaſonable mind can deſire, is to be found, or may, with little pains, be produced here*.

Niagara Fort is a moſt important poſt. It ſecures a greater number of communications, through a larger country, than probably any other paſs in *interior* America;---It ſtands at the entrance of a ſtraight, by which *Lake Ontario*, is joined to *Lake Eric*, and the latter is connected with the three great Lakes *Huron*, *Michegan*, and *Superior*. About nine miles above Fort *Niagara*, the *carrying* place begins. It is occaſioned by the ſtupendous cataract of that name. The quantity of water which tumbles over this *Fall* is unparalleled in *America*;---its heighth, is not leſs than 137 feet. This *Fall* would interrupt the communication between the Lakes *Ontario* and *Eric*; if a road was not made up the [46] hilly country; that borders upon the *ſtraight*. This road extends to a ſmall poſt

* See the annexed Plan for a deſcription of the Illinois country, &c. and ſee Appendix, No. I. for a farther account thereof.

eighteen miles from fort *Niagara*. *Here* the traveller embarks in a battoe or canoe, and proceeds eighteen miles to a ſmall fort at *Lake Erie*. It may be proper alſo to add, that at the end of the firſt two miles, in the laſt mentioned diſtance of 18 miles, the *Stream* of the River is divided by a large iſland, above nine miles in length; and at the upper end of it, about a mile from *Lake Erie*, are three or four iſlands, not far from each other;—theſe iſlands, by interrupting and confining the waters diſcharged from the Lake, greatly increaſe the rapidity of the Stream;---which indeed is ſo violent, that the ſtiffeſt gale is ſcarcely ſuf-[fi]cient to enable a large veſſel to ſtem it,--but it is ſucceſsfully reſiſted in ſmall battoes or canoes, that are rowed near the ſhore.

Lake Erie, is about 225 miles in length, and upon a medium about 40 miles in breadth. It affords a good navigation for ſhipping of *any* burthen. The coaſt on both ſides of the Lake, is generally favourable for the paſſage of battoes and canoes. [47] Its banks in many places have a flat ſandy ſhore, particularly to the eaſtward of the *Peninſula*, called *Long Point*, which

extends into the Lake, in a ſouth eaſtern direction for upwards of 18 miles, and is not more than five miles wide in the broadeſt part, but the *Iſthmus*, by which it joins the continent, is ſcarcely 200 yards wide. The *Peninſula* is compoſed of Sand, and is very convenient to haul boats out of the ſurf upon, (as is alſo almoſt every other part of the ſhore) when the Lake is too rough for rowing or ſailing; yet there are ſome places, where, in boiſterous weather (on account of their great perpendicular height) it would be dangerous to approach, and impoſſible to land: moſt of theſe places are marked in my Map with the letter X.

Lake Erie has a great variety of fine fiſh, ſuch as *Sturgeon*, *Eel*, *White Fiſh*, *Trout*, *Perch*, &c.

The country *northward* of this Lake, is in many parts ſwelled with moderate hills, but no high mountains. The climate is temperate, and the air healthful. The lands are well timbered, (but not ge-[48] nerally ſo rich, as thoſe upon the ſouthern ſide of the lake) and for a conſiderable diſtance from it, and for ſeveral miles eaſt-

ward of *Cayahoga* River, they appear quite level, and extremely fertile; and except where extenſive ſavannahs, or natural meadows intervene, are covered with large Oaks, Walnut, Aſh, Hickory, Mulberry, Saſſafras, &c. &c. and produce a great variety of Shrubs and Medicinal roots. — Here alſo is great plenty of *Buffalo*, *Deer*, *Turkies*, *Partridges*, &c.

Fort Detroit is of an oblong figure, built with ſtockades, and advantageouſly ſituated, with one entire ſide commanding the river, called *Detroit*. This fort is near a mile in circumference, and encloſes about one hundred houſes, built in a regular manner, with parallel ſtreets, croſſing each other at right angles. Its ſituation is delightful, and in the centre of a pleaſant, fruitful country.

The ſtraight *St. Clair* (commonly called the *Detroit* River) is at its entrance more than three miles wide, but in aſcending it, its width perceptibly diminiſhes, ſo that oppoſite to the Fort, (which is 18 [49] miles from Lake *Erie*) it does not exceed half a mile in width. From thence to Lake *St. Clair*, it widens to more than a

mile. The Channel of the ſtraight is gentle, and wide, and deep enough for ſhipping of great burthen, although it is incommoded by ſeveral iſlands; one of which is more than ſeven miles in length. Theſe iſlands are of a fertile ſoil, and from their ſituation afford a very agreeable appearance. For eight miles below, and the ſame diſtance above Fort *Detroit*, on both ſides of the River, the country is divided into regular and well cultivated plantations, and from the contiguity of the farmers houſes to each other, they appear as two long extended villages. The inhabitants, who are moſtly *French*, are about 2000 in number; 500 of whom are as good markſmen, and as well accuſtomed to the woods, as the *Indian* natives themſelves. They raiſe large ſtocks of black cattle, and great quantities of Corn, which they grind by wind-mills, and manufacture into excellent Flour.---The chief trade of *Detroit* conſiſts in a barter of coarſe Euro-
[50] pean goods with the natives for Furrs, Deer-ſkins, Tallow, &c. &c.

The rout from Lake *St. Clair* to Lake *Huron*, is up a ſtraight or River, about

400 yards wide. This river derives itſelf from *Lake Heron*, and at the diſtance of 33 miles loſes itſelf in Lake *St. Clair*. It is in general rapid, but particularly ſo near its ſource;—its channel, and alſo that of Lake *St. Clair*, are ſufficiently deep for ſhipping of very conſiderable burthen. This ſtrait has ſeveral mouths, and the lands lying between them are fine meadows. The country on both ſides of it, for 15 miles, has a very level appearance, but from thence to Lake *Huron*, it is in many places broken, and covered with white Pines, Oaks, Maple, Birch and Beech.

[51] APPENDIX, No. I.

Mr. PATRICK KENNEDY'S Journal *of an Expedition undertaken by himſelf and ſeveral Coureurs de Bois in the year* 1773,--*from* Kaſkaſkias *Village in the* Illinois *Country, to the Head Waters of the* Illinois River*.

JULY 23, 1773. " We ſet out from " *Kaſkaſkias* in ſearch of a Copper " mine, and on the 31ſt reached the *Illinois* " River;—it is 84 miles from *Kaſkaſkias.* " The ſame day we entered the *Illinois* Ri- " ver, which is 18 miles above that of the " *Miſſouri.* The water was ſo low, and " the ſides of the river ſo full of " weeds, that our progreſs was much " interrupted, being obliged to row our " boat in the deep water, and ſtrong " current. The chain of rocks, and high " hills which begin at the *Piaſas* about " three miles above the *Miſſouri*, extend " to the mouth of the *Illinois* River, and " continue along the ſouth-eaſtern ſide of " the ſame in an eaſt-north eaſt courſe.--

* N. B. This *Journal* was never printed before.

" [52] About eighteen miles up this river,
" on the eaſtern ſide, is a little river called
" by the Natives *Macopin* or *White Potato*
" River;---it is 20 yards wide, and navi-
" gable nine miles to the hills. The
" ſhore is low on both ſides;---the tim-
" ber, *Bois Connu*, or *Paccan*, *Maple*, *Aſh*,
" *Button Wood*, &c.—The courſe of the *Il-*
" *linois* River here, is N. N. E; the land is
" well timbered, and covered with high
" weeds. There are fine meadows at a
" little diſtance from the River; the banks
" of which do not crumble away as thoſe
" of the *Miſſiſippi* do: we paſſed numbers
" of Iſlands, ſome of them between nine
" and twelve miles in length, and three
" miles in breadth.—The general width
" of the River in this day's journey, was
" about 400 yards.

" Auguſt 1, about 12 o'clock, we ſtop-
" ped at the *Piorias* wintering ground.
" About a quarter of a mile from the Ri-
" ver, on the eaſtern ſide of it, is a mea-
" dow of many miles long, and five or ſix
" miles broad. In this meadow are many
" ſmall lakes, communicating with each
" other, and by which there are paſſages

" [53] for ſmall boats or canoes, and one in
" particular, leads to the *Illinois* River.
" The timber in general very tall Oaks.
" We met with ſome beautiful iſlands in
" this part of the River (48 miles from
" the *Miſſiſippi*) and great plenty of Buffa-
" loe and Deer.

" Auguſt 2, At one o'clock we paſſed
" an iſland called *Pierre*.—A *Fleche*, or ar-
" row ſtone is gotten by the Indians from
" a high hill on the weſtern ſide of the
" River, near the above iſland;—with this
" ſtone, the natives make their gun flints,
" and point their arrows. Half a league
" above this iſland, on the Eaſtern ſide of
" it, the meadows border on the River,
" and continue ſeveral miles; the land is
" remarkably rich, and well watered with
" ſmall Rivulets from the neighbouring
" hills. The banks of the River are high,
" the water clear, and at the bottom of
" the River are white Marl and Sand.

" Auguſt 3, Paſſed the *Mine* River. It
" comes into the *Illinois* River on the north-
" weſtern ſide of it, 120 miles from the
" *Miſſiſippi*. It is 50 yards wide and very
" rapid.

[54] " Auguſt 4. Here the land on both " ſides of the *Illinois* River is low, but riſes " gradually.—The *Prairie*, or meadow " ground on the eaſtern ſide, is at *leaſt* " twenty *miles wide*; it is fine land for " tillage, or for *grazing* cattle, and is well " watered with a number of ſprings. " About 12 o'clock we paſſed the River " *Sagamoud*, 135 miles from the *Miſſiſippi*. " It is a River 100 yards wide, and navi- " gable for ſmall boats or canoes up- " wards of 180 miles, and about ſun- " ſet, we paſſed the River *Demi-Quian*. " It comes in on the weſtern ſide of the " *Illinois* River;—(165 miles from the " *Miſſiſippi*;)—is 50 yards wide, and navi- " gable 120 miles. We encamped on " the ſouth-eaſtern ſide of the *Illinois* river, " opposite to a very large ſavannah, be- " longing to, and called, the *Demi-Quian* " ſwamp. The lands on the ſouth-eaſtern " ſide are high and thinly timbered;--- " but at the place of our encampment are " fine meadows, extending farther than " the eye can reach, and affording a de- " lightful proſpect.---The low lands on " the weſtern ſide of the *Illinois* River,

" extend ſo far back from it, that no " [55] high grounds can be ſeen. Here is " plenty of Buffaloe, Deer, Elk, Tur- " keys, &c.

" Auguſt 5, It rained all day, which " detained us till the evening, when we " embarked, and rowed till dark; in our " way we paſſed the Lake *Demi-Quian*, " 200 yards weſt from the river of that " name; it is of a *circular figure*, ſix miles " acroſs, and diſcharges itſelf by a ſmall " paſſage, four feet deep into the *Illinois* " River. This Lake is 171 miles from " the *Miſſiſippi*. The general courſe of " the *Illinois* River varies very little; it " rather however inclines to the eaſtward. " The lands are much the ſame as before " deſcribed, only the *Prairies* (Meadows) " extend further from the river. By our " reckoning, we are 177 miles from the " *Miſſiſippi*.

" Auguſt 6, Set out early, and at 11 " o'Clock we paſſed the *Scſeme-Quian* river, " it is on the weſtern ſide of the *Illinois* " river; is 40 yards wide, and navigable 60 " miles; the land bordering on this river is " very good. — About four o'clock we paſſed

" the river *De la March*, (on the weſtern
" [56] ſide alſo of the *Illinois* river;) it is
" 30 yards wide, and navigable about eight
" or nine miles only. Though the *De la*
" *March* is not ſo long as the *Scieme-Quian*,
" yet it is much handſomer. Theſe rivers
" are about nine miles diſtant from each
" other. Here the land begins to riſe grad-
" ually on the weſtern bank. At ſun-ſet
" we paſſed a river called *Michilimackinac*.
" It is on the ſouth-eaſtern ſide of the *Illi-*
" *nois* River; is 50 yards wide, navigable
" for about 90 miles, and has between 30
" and 40 ſmall iſlands at its mouth; which
" at a diſtance appear like a ſmall village.
" On the banks of this river is plenty of
" good timber, viz. *Red and white Cedar*,
" *Pine*, *Maple*, *Walnut*, *&c.* and finding
" ſome pieces of coal, I was induced
" to walk up the river a few miles, *tho'*
" *not far enough*, to reach a *coal mine*. In
" many places I alſo found clinkers, which
" inclined me to think that a coal mine, not
" far diſtant, was on fire, and I have ſince
" heard, there was.--The land is high on the
" eaſtern bank of the river, but on the
" weſtern are large plains or meadows, ex-

" tending as far as can be ſeen, covered
" [57] with fine graſs. This river is 195
" miles from the *Miſſiſippi*.

" Auguſt 7, The morning being very
" foggy, and the River overgrown with
" weeds along its ſides, we could make
" but little way. About 12 o'clock we
" got to the old *Pioria Fort* and village on
" the weſtern ſhore of the River, and at
" the ſouthern end of a lake called the *Il-*
" *linois Lake*; which is 19 miles and a half
" in length, and three miles in breadth.
" It has no Rocks, Shoals or perceivable
" Current. We found the ſtockades of
" this *Pioria Fort* deſtroyed by fire, but the
" houſes ſtanding. The ſummit on which
" the Fort ſtood, commands a fine proſ-
" pect of the country to the eaſtward, and
" up the lake to the point, where the Ri-
" ver comes in at the north end; — to the
" weſtward are large meadows. In the lake
" is great plenty of fiſh, and in particu-
" lar, *Sturgeon*, and *Picannau*. On the
" eaſtern ſide of the lake, about the mid-
" dle of it, the chain of Rocks, that ex-
" tends from the back of *Kaſkaſkias*, to
" [58] *Cahokia*, *Piaſa*, the mouth of the

" *Illinois* River, &c terminates. — The coun-
" try to the weſtward, is low and very le-
" vel, covered with Graſs, Weeds,
" Flaggs, &c. — Here is abundance of
" Cherry, Plumb and other fruit trees.—
" This lake is 210 miles from the *Miſſi-*
" *ſippi*.

" Auguſt 8, The wind being fair we
" made a ſail of our tent, and reached the
" upper end of the lake by ſun-ſet; and
" the wind continuing fair we aſcended
" the River, and about 4 o'clock paſſed
" *Crows Meadows River*, which comes
" from the eaſtward, and over againſt
" it, on the weſt ſide, are the mea-
" dows juſt mentioned, 240 miles from
" the *Miſſiſippi*. This River is twenty
" yards wide, and navigable between
" 15 and 18 miles. The land on both
" ſides of the *Illinois* River, for 27, or 30
" miles above the lake, is generally low
" and full of Swamps, ſome a mile wide,
" bordered with fine meadows, and in
" ſome places, the high land comes to
" the River in points, or narrow necks.

[59] " Auguſt 9, At 10 o'clock, we paſſed
" the *Riviere de l'Iſle de Pluye*, or *Rainy*

" *Iſland* River, on the ſouth-eaſt ſide it is
" 15 yards wide, and navigable nine miles
" to the rocks.—After paſſing this River,
" which is 255 miles from the *Miſſiſippi*,
" we found the water very ſhallow, and
" it was with difficulty that we got for-
" ward, though we employed ſeven oars,
" and our boat drew only three feet water.
" The graſs which grows in the interval
" or meadow ground, between the *Illinois*
" River and the *Rocks*, is finer than any
" we have ſeen, and is thicker and higher
" and more clear from weeds, than in any
" of the meadows about *Kaſkaſkias* or Fort
" *Chartres*. The timber is generally *Birch*,
" *Button*, and *Paccan*.—The wind conti-
" nuing fair, about 10 o'clock we paſſed
" the *Vermillion River*, 267 miles from
" the *Miſſiſippi*. It is 30 yards wide, but
" ſo rocky as not to be navigable.—At the
" diſtance of a mile further, we arrived
" at the little rocks, which are 60 miles
" from the *Forks*, and 270 miles from the
" [60] *Miſſiſippi*." The water being very
" low, We could get no further with our
" boat, and therefore we proceeded by land
" to the *Forks*. We ſet out about two

" o'clock on the weſtern ſide of the
" River, but the graſs and weeds were
" ſo high, that we could make but
" little way.

" Auguſt 10. We croſſed the high
" land, and at ten o'clock we came to
" the *Fox River* (or a branch of it)
" after walking twenty-four miles. It
" falls into the *Illinois* River, thirty miles
" beyond the place where we left our
" boat.—The *Fox* River is 25 yards wide,
" and has about five feet water; its courſe
" is from the weſtward by many windings
" through large meadows. At three miles
" diſtance, after croſſing this river, we
" fell in with the *Illinois* River again, and
" kept along its bank; here we found a
" path. About ſix o'clock we arrived,
" after walking about 12 miles, at an old
" encampment, fifteen miles from the
" *Fork*. The land is ſtoney, and the mea-
" dows not ſo good as ſome which we for-
" [61] merly paſſed;—from hence we went
" to an iſland, where ſeveral *French* traders
" were encamp'd, but we could get no intel-
" ligence from them about the *copper mine*
" which we had ſet out in ſearch of. At

" this iſland we hired one of the *French*
" hunters to conduct us in a canoe to our
" boat.

" Auguſt 11, We ſet off about three
" o'clock, and at night got within nine
" miles of our boat. We computed it to
" be 45 miles from the iſland we laſt de-
" parted from, to the place where we left
" our boat.

" Auguſt 12, We embarked early, and
" proceeded three miles down the *Illinois*
" River.---On the north-weſtern ſide of
" this river is a coal *mine*, that extends
" for half a mile along the middle of the
" bank of the river, which is high. ---
" On the eaſtern ſide, about half a mile
" from it, and about the ſame diſtance be-
" low the coal mine, are two ſalt ponds,
" 100 yards in circumference, and ſeveral
" feet in depth; the water is ſtagnant, and
" of a yellowiſh colour; but the *French*,
" [62] and natives make good ſalt from it.
" We taſted the water, and thought it ſalter
" than that which the French make ſalt
" from, at the *ſaline* near *St. Genevieve*.
" At nine o'clock we arrived at our boat.
" From the iſland, where we found the

" *French traders*, and from whence we em-
" barked in a canoe to go to our boat,
" there is a conſiderable deſcent and *Ra-*
" *pid* all the way. Here it is, that the
" *French* ſettlers cut their mill ſtones.---
" The land along the banks of the river is
" much better than what we met with,
" when we croſſed the country on the 10th
" of this month. On the high lands, and
" particularly thoſe on the ſouth-eaſtern
" ſide, there is abundance of red and white
" Cedar, Pine trees, &c.—We embarked
" about two o'clock, and proceeded till
" nine at night.

" Auguſt 13, We lay by half this day,
" on account of wet weather.

" Auguſt 14, Embarked early, and af-
" ter croſſing the *Illinois* lake arrived late
" in the evening, at the *Pioria Fort*.

" Auguſt 15, Rowed very conſtantly
" [63] all day, and arrived at the *Mine Ri-*
" *ver* in the evening.---Here I met with Mr.
" *Jauiſte*, a *French* gentleman, and pre-
" vailed on him to accompany me, in an
" attempt up this River, to diſcover the
" *Copper Mine*.

" Auguſt 16, Embarked early, and af-
" cended the *Mine* River in a ſmall canoe,
" about 6 miles, but could get no further,
" as the river was quite dry a little higher
" up. It runs the above diſtance, through
" very high grounds, is rocky and very
" crooked; the banks of the river are much
" broken, and the paſſage choaked with
" timber; ---- Mr. *Janeſte* ſays, that
" the current is ſo ſtrong in floods,
" nothing can reſiſt it. The bottom
" is ſand, green in ſome places, and
" red in others; it is ſaid, that there
" is an allum hill on this river; ----
" As I thought that it was impoſſible
" to get to the *mine* by land at this
" ſeaſon of the year, on account of the
" rocky mountains, weeds, briars, &c.
" I determined to return to *Kaſkaſkias*,
" and accordingly we went back to our
" [64] boat, embarked about one o'clock,
" and continued rowing day and night un-
" til 12 o'clock the 18th, when we entered
" the river *Miſſiſippi* on our way to *Kaſ-*
" *kaſkias* village."

A Table of Distances, between FORT PITT, and the Mouth of the RIVER OHIO

	Massac	Cherokee River	Shawanoe River	Big Cave	Wabash	Buffaloe River	Low Country	Rapids	Kentucke	Big Bones	Big Miami	Licking Creek	Little Miami	Sioto	Sandy Creek	Guyandat	Big Kanhawa	Hockhocking	Little Kanhawa	Muskingum	End Long Reach	Long Reach	Two Creeks	Yellow Creek	Little Beaver Creek	Big Beaver Creek	Logs Town	Fort Pitt
Logs Town																												18½
Big Beaver Creek																											10¾	29¼
Little Beaver Creek																										13½	24¼	42¾
Yellow Creek																									11¾	25¼	36	54½
Two Creeks																								21¾	33½	47	57¾	76¼
Long Reach																							53¾	75½	87¼	100¾	111½	130
End Long Reach																						16½	70¼	92	103¾	117¼	128	146½
Muskingum																					25½	42	95¾	117½	129¼	142¾	153½	172
Little Kanhawa																				12½	38	54½	108¼	130	141¾	155¼	166	184½
Hockhocking																			16	28½	54	70½	124¼	146	157¾	171¼	182	200½
Big Kanhawa																		82½	98½	111	136½	153	206¾	228½	240¼	253¾	264½	283
Guyandat																	43¾	126¼	142¼	154¾	180¼	196¾	250½	272¼	284	297½	308¼	326¾
Sandy Creek																14½	58¼	140¾	156¾	169¼	194¾	211¼	265	286¾	298½	312	322¾	341¼
Sioto															48¾	63¼	107	189½	205½	218	243½	260	313¾	335½	347¼	360¾	371½	390
Little Miami														12[illegible]¼	175	189½	233¼	315¾	331¾	344¼	369¾	386¼	440	461¾	473½	487	497¾	516¼
Licking Creek													8	134[illegible]	183	197½	241¼	323¾	339¾	352¼	377¾	394¼	448	469¾	481½	495	505¾	524¼
Big Miami												26¾	34¾	16[illegible]	209¾	224¼	268	350½	366½	379	404½	421	474¾	496½	508¼	521¾	532½	551
Big Bones											32½	59¼	67¼	193½	242¼	256¾	300½	383	399	411½	437	453½	507¼	529	540¾	554¼	565	583½
Kentucke										44¼	76¾	103½	111½	23[illegible]¼	286½	301	344¾	427¼	443¼	455¾	481¼	497¾	551½	573¼	585	598½	609¼	627¾
Rapids									77½	121¾	154¼	181	189	31[illegible]¼	364	378½	422¼	504¾	520¾	533¼	558¾	575¼	629	650¾	662½	676	686¾	705¼
Low Country								155¾	233¼	277½	310	336¾	344¾	47[illegible]	529¾	534¼	578	660½	676½	689	714½	731	784¾	806½	818¼	831¾	842½	861
Buffaloe River							64½	220¼	297¾	342	374½	401¼	409¼	53[illegible]½	584¼	598¾	642½	725	741	753½	779	795½	849¼	871	882¾	896¼	907	925½
Wabash						97¼	161¾	317½	395	439¼	471¾	498½	506½	63[illegible]¾	681½	696	739¾	822¼	838¼	850¾	876¼	892¾	946½	968¼	980	993½	1004¼	1022¾
Big Cave					42¾	140	204½	360¼	437¾	482	514½	541¼	549¼	67[illegible]½	724¼	738¾	782½	865	881	893½	919	935½	989¼	1011	1022¾	1036¼	1047	1065½
Shawanoe River				52½	95¼	192½	257	412¾	490¼	534½	567	593¾	601¾	72[illegible]	776¾	791¼	835	917½	933½	946	971½	988	1041¾	1063½	1075¼	1088¾	1099½	1118
Cherokee River			13	65½	108¼	205½	270	425¾	503¼	547½	580	606¾	614¾	74[illegible]	789¾	804¼	848	930½	946½	959	984½	1001	1054¾	1076½	1088½	1101¾	1112½	1131
Massac		11	24	76½	119¾	216½	281	436¾	514¼	558½	591	617¾	625¾	75[illegible]	800¾	815¼	859	941½	957½	970	995½	1012	1065¾	1087½	1099¼	1112¾	1123½	1142
Missisippi	46	57	70	122½	165¼	262½	327	482¾	560¼	604½	637	663¾	671¾	7[illegible]8	846¾	861¼	905	987½	1013½	1026	1051½	1068	1121¾	1133½	1145¼	1158¾	1169½	1188

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[65] APPENDIX, No. III.

A Liſt of the different Nations and Tribes of Indians in the Northern Diſtrict of North America, with the number of their fighting Men, &c. &c.

Names.	Number of each	Their dwelling grounds.	Their hunting grounds.
Mohocks	160	Mohock river	Between the Mohock river and lake George
Oneidas	300	Eaſt ſide of Onida lake, and on the head waters of the eaſt branch of Suſquehannah.	In the country where they live.
Tuſcaroras	200	Between the Onidas and Onandagoes.	Between Oneida Lake and Lake Ontario.
Onondagoes	260	Near the Onondago Lake.	Between the Onondago Lake, and the mouth of the Seneca river, near Oſwego.
Cayugas	200	On two ſmall lakes called the Cayugas, near the north branch of Suſquehannah.	Near the north branch of Suſquehannah.
Senecas	1000	Seneca country, on the waters of Suſquehannah, the waters of lake Ontario, and on the heads of Ohio River.	Their chief hunting country, where they live.
Aughquagas	150	Eaſt branch of Suſquehannah River, and on Aughquaga.	On the eaſt branch of Suſquehannah, and on Aughquaga.
Nanticokes	100	Utſanango, Chaghnet, Oſwego, and on the eaſt branch of Suſquehannah.	Where they reſpectively reſide.
Mohickons	100		
Conoys	30		
Munſays	150	At Diahago and other villages up the north branch of Suſquehannah.	Where they reſpectively reſide.
Sapoones	30		
Delawares	150		

[66]

Names.	Number of each.	Their dwelling grounds.	Their hunting grounds
Delawares	600	Between the Ohio and Lake Erie and on the branches of Beaver Creek, Muſkingum, and Guyehago.	Between the Ohio River and Lake Erie.
Shawanoes	300	On Sioto and a branch of Muſkingum.	Between the Ohio River and Lake Erie.
Wayondotts, Mohickons, Coghnawagas	300	In villages near Sandusky.	On the head branches of Sioto.
Twightwees	250	Miami River near Fort Miami.	On the ground, where they reſide.
Kickapoos, Pyankeſhaws, Muſquitons, Ouiatanons	1000	On the Wabaſh and its branches.	Between the mouth of the Wabaſh and the Miami Rivers.
Kaſkaſkias, Piorias, Mitchigamas	300	Near the ſettlements in the Illinois country.	In the Illinois country.
Wiyondotts	250		
Ottawas	400	Near Fort Detroit.	About Lake Erie.
Putawatimes	150		
Chepawas & Ottawas	200	On Saguinam bay, a part of Lake Huron.	On Saguinam bay, and Lake Huron.
Kickapoos	400	Near the entrance of Lake Superior, and not far from St. Mary's.	About Lake Superior.
Chepawas, Mynomanies, Saukeys	550	Near bay Puan, a part of Lake Michigan.	About bay Puan, and Lake Michigan.
Putawatimes	200	Near Fort St. Joſephs.	The country between Lake Michigan and the Miami Fort.
Ottawas	150		
Kickapooſes, Outtagomies, Muſquatons, Miſcotins, Outtamacks, Muſquakeys	4,000	On Lake Michigan and between it, and the Miſſiſippi.	Where they reſpectively reſide

[67]

Names.	Number of each.	Their dwelling grounds.	Their hunting grounds.
Ofwegatches	100	At Swagatchey in Canada, and on the River St. Lawrence.	Near where they live.
Connefedagoes / Coghnawagoes	300	Near Montreal.	Near where they live.
Orondocks	100	Near Trois Riviers.	Near where they live.
Abonakies	150		
Alagonkins	100		
La Sue	10,000	Weftward of Lake Superior and the Miffifippi.	In the country where they refide.
Ottawas	200	On the eaft fide of Lake Michigan, 21 miles from Michilimackinac	In the country between the Lakes Michigan and Huron
Chepawas	1000	On Lake Superior, and the Iflands in that Lake.	Round Lake Superior.

F I N I S.

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ERRATA.

Page 3, in the 24th line, inſtead of ſh, read *Aſh.*

Page 20, in the 17th line, dele " *Cayahoga*" and inſert, *It*

Page 21, in the ſecond line, inſtead of " Muſkingum", read *Cayahoga.*

Page 23, in the ſixth line, inſtead " of a branch of the Cuttawa", read *a branch of the Cherokee.*

Page 25, in the 15th line, inſtead of " Quiaghtena", read *Wabaſh.*

Page 45, in the note at the bottom of the page, inſtead of [See " annexed plan for a Deſcription of the Illinois Country"] read *See the annexed plan of the villages in the Illinois Country.*

Page 50, in the ſixth line, inſtead of " Heron", read *Huron.*

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